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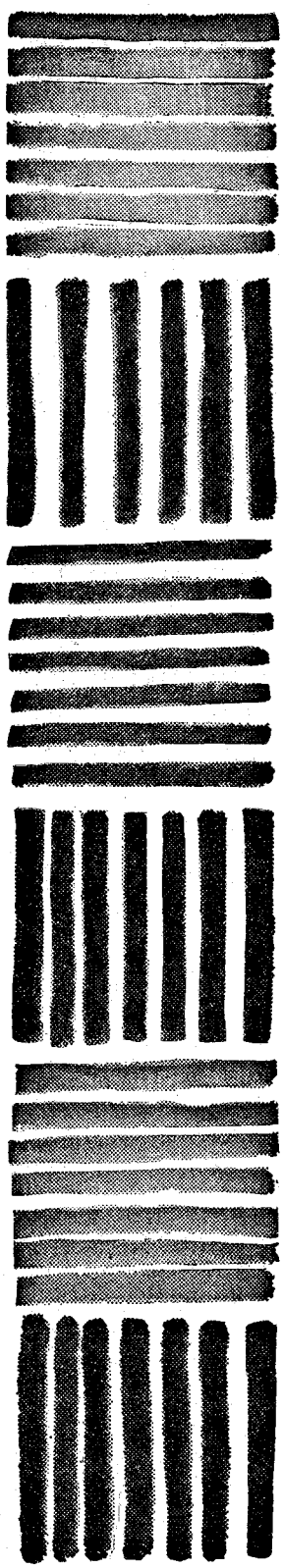

Vietnam

## ALTERNATIVE to DISASTER

**Donald Grant**

Radio Right

## HATE CLUBS of the AIR

**Fred J. Cook**

## One-Dimensional Man

**Andre Gorz**

THREE NEW POEMS: JOHN BERRYMAN

OLMI SPEAKS ON ITALY'S NEW FILMS

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# LETTERS

## From Cheddi Jagan

*Georgetown, British Guiana*

*Dear Sirs:* Stanley Meisler's article, "Meddling in Latin America" (*The Nation,* Feb. 10), has just been drawn to my attention. . . . It is one of the few articles which I have seen published in the United States which deals truthfully and without bias with American intervention in Latin America and particularly in British Guiana. There are, of course a few inaccuracies, but I realize that this is almost inevitable when a commentator, however well-intentioned, is 2,000 miles from the scene.

Mr. Meisler claims that my "strategy has been to oppose proportional representation and to break the unions." It has never been my intention to break the unions. . . . Our quarrel is with company-dominated trade unions under the control of corrupt leadership and foreign imperialist influence. It should be noted that many of our present-day problems have come about because of the forcible destruction of my government and the suspension of the Constitution in 1953, the unconstitutional smashup in early 1954 of the T.U.C. (which was then supporting my government) with the help of Mr. Serafino Romualdi, and the subsequent British-engineered split in my party in 1955. These ruthless methods, combined with the gerrymandering of constituencies, did not succeed in defeating my party at the elections in 1957 and 1961. Having thus failed by constitutional means to secure power, the opposition, with foreign aid, embarked on the Fascist road. The 1962 and 1963 disturbances which led to looting, arson and murder were aimed at bringing down the government. In 1962, the ostensible excuse was the budget which was largely framed by the famous Cambridge economist, Nicholas Kaldor. In 1963, the excuse was the Labour Relations Bill. . . . Incidentally, this bill . . . was patterned after the Wagner Act and sought by means of a poll to settle jurisdictional disputes. Had this bill been enacted into law, the present ten-week strike called by the Guiana Agricultural Workers' Union for recognition in the sugar industry would have been avoided.

As regards proportional representation, this is merely a new device aimed at removing my government from office. Like the split engineered in my party, which resulted in racial divisions, proportional representation is likely to lead to further divisions, particularly along religious lines. Already a Muslim Party has been formed and there is indication that a Hindu Party will also emerge.

Mr. Drew Pearson in a recent article has stated that the Central Intelligence Agency and British Intelligence were deeply involved in the attempt last year to overthrow my legally elected government. I hope that as a result of the new initiatives taken by persons like Senator Fulbright there will be a serious "agonizing reappraisal" of American foreign policy as regards governments like mine which are desperately seeking to find solutions to inherited problems of poverty and backwardness. . . . *Cheddi Jagan*

## Contact with philosophy

*Berkeley, Calif.*

*Dear Sirs:* I have just this moment finished reading "New Music and the American Mainstream" by Benjamin Boretz (*The Nation,* May 4). I find his comments most exciting. I was intrigued most particularly by the modes and elements of his analysis. His descriptions in terms of "hypotheses," "prediction," "testing," "musical space" and "conceptual framework" remind one immediately of contemporary philosophic thought. Philosophy is now all too often overly specialized and pseudo-technical. There none the less remain within its domain possible areas of contact with other specialization. . . . I find in Mr. Boretz's attack the opening of such possibilities. *Paul S. Rosenberg*

## 'Lady poetry'

*Santa Monica, Calif.*

*Dear Sirs:* Kenneth Rexroth's review of *Wedding Night of a Nun* in your May 11 issue: marvelous! We are still holding our sides with laughter.

*Shirley W. Osborn*

## No plot

*Beloit, Wis.*

*Dear Sirs:* In your May 4 issue Mr. Ivan Gold's "The Big Puff," on the success of Richard Kim's novel, *The Martyred,* pictures a vast, powerful, but shadowy conspiracy of publishers, editors and reviewers who huffed and puffed and blew a third-rate novel into best-sellerdom. . . .

Since he quoted three times from my *New York Times Book Review* piece and presumably classifies me with the huffers and puffers, I want to set the record straight. The plain facts are these: (1) The *New York Times Book Review* sent the novel to me for a routine, short review. There was no indication that it should receive special attention. (2) I read the novel, with no presuppositions about it. Before I had finished, I was convinced that it was one of the most magnificent novels of recent decades. I said so in the short review that I wrote. (3) The *New York Times Book Review* phoned me and said that if I felt the novel was really a major one, perhaps I ought to expand my review. I did so. I fail to see a dark plot in all this. . . . *Chad Walsh*

*Dept. of English*
*Beloit College*

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## The Non-Candidate

A few years ago someone in the *Time* literary department wrote a scathing piece on "non-books." The Republican Party seems to have its quota of non-candidates. They look like candidates, they talk like candidates, all of them in their day have been candidates for various offices and have been elected, yet they do not meet the primary qualifications of a candidate in the coming Presidentiad. These are (1) a chance of being elected, (2) a coherent philosophy bearing on the problems of the country, and (3) ability to make a contribution to the two-party system even in defeat.

The sole exception on several of these counts is Governor Rockefeller, but his merits do not show up in the polls. The leading candidate, Senator Goldwater, is also most eminently a non-candidate. He conspicuously fails on all the above criteria. Some time ago *The Nation* nominated him as its favorite Presidential hopeful on the Republican side, on the ground that there might as well be a showdown between the middle-of-the-road position represented by the Democrats (assuming that a consensus could be obtained) and the nineteenth-century Right. At that time Senator Goldwater was thought to have a chance to carry the South against John F. Kennedy. Running against Lyndon B. Johnson, Goldwater's chances are even poorer, and *The Nation* is still for him.

An outstanding non-candidate reveals himself in a number of ways, one being his capacity for sowing confusion. Senator Goldwater has this quality in a high degree. After Mr. Kennedy's death, about 85 per cent of the press ruled out Mr. Goldwater. His stock plummeted like that of a gold mine when the district attorney shows that the diggings have been salted. Today, by about the same proportion in reverse, the press finds that so many delegates are in favor of Goldwater that he virtually has it made. Yet the more delegates Goldwater has on paper, the more his appeal drops in the public opinion polls. He is now down to 14 per cent nationally. In New Hampshire a slate rode to defeat on his coattails. There will never be a non-candidate to match Goldwater.

*The Nation* is not being facetious in its support of Goldwater—although, to be sure, there is an element of humor in the rising fortunes of one whom so few of the voters actually want. *The Nation* believes in the two-party system, but what we have now is two parties, each split down the middle and both leaning to the Right, one more perilously than the other. A massive dose of Goldwater might well establish an actual, workable two-party system. Assuming a continuance of Mr. Johnson's good health, for which *The Nation* prays, whatever Republican is nominated will be defeated. Mr. Goldwater would be badly defeated. So be it. After the trouncing taken by Landon in 1936, the Republican Party was rejuvenated with Willkie, probably the best bona fide candidate it has had in this century. It might happen again, although there is no Willkie in sight. Of course the Goldwater cure might ruin the GOP, but the Republic has survived the disintegration of several major parties in its history.

One other objection to Goldwater may be cited. If he remains in the lead as the convention opens, but is unable to get the nomination, he may throw his support to Richard Nixon. Mr. Nixon, however, has his own built-in prophylaxis. He would not run as well against Mr. Johnson as he did against Mr. Kennedy. One should not boggle at a risk so small as his possible election. The end result, while not as striking as the demonstration Mr. Goldwater could give, would be much the same.

## How Long Do We Take It?

The United States has supported innumerable dictators, in the Caribbean and elsewhere, but none has kicked us around as lightheartedly as François Duvalier, the half-cracked Haitian who recently proclaimed himself "President for Always." As a physician, Duvalier must be aware that he will not live forever; he had a near-fatal heart attack in 1959. With characteristic solicitude, U.S. Ambassador Gerald Drew summoned Navy cardiologists to Duvalier's bedside. Within the year, Drew was recalled at Duvalier's request.

Of course any diplomat can be pronounced unwelcome by any country to which he is accredited, but Duvalier dismisses American diplomats as if they were office boys. And not only diplomats: he is also a habitual expeller of the clergy. He has deported several Catholic bishops. (He has been excommunicated, but since voodoo is his religion as much as Roman Catholicism, this bothers him not at all.) At the end of April, the Episcopal Bishop of Haiti, the Right Rev. Charles A. Voegeli, was forced out of the country without explanation. *The New York Times* reported that the ouster was at gun point; apparently this was not quite true. The *Ton-Ton Macoute* types who forced their way into the Bishop's residence and escorted him to the airplane were armed, but they refrained from shoving their pistols into the Bishop's stomach. He was treated better than most Haitians.

After years of acquiescence in Duvalier graft, extortion and murder, Uncle Sam seemed about a year ago to have had enough. For a time the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations had no ambassador at Port-au-Prince and made no secret of their desire to see "Papa" overthrown. But when the Haitians failed to take the hint, we offered to send an ambassador once more. There may have been some sense in this—an ambassador can report on what is going on, even when, as in this case, he had to wait five weeks before

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Duvalier deigned to receive him. But we went further than resuming relations. No doubt at Duvalier's demand, we resumed economic aid by sanctioning a new loan of $2.8 million by the Inter-American Development Bank for the Port-au-Prince water-supply system.

Fidel Castro, who is a gentleman and a scholar by comparison, has repeatedly indicated his desire to resume relations with the United States. He remains anathema, while Duvalier is not only tolerated but given support. But then, Duvalier is not a Communist, and indeed advertises himself as the only barrier against Haitian communism. To keep us worried, he allows the Haitian Communist Party to function, although it is legally outlawed. At one time he welcomed a Czech trade mission; at another, a mission from Poland. He flirts with communism just enough to get what he wants. So Uncle Sam turns his back, to be kicked once more.

## The Shame of the Senate

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. There was great rejoicing among men of good will. The *de facto* emancipation of the Negro seemed at hand. Yet after a decade that saw mass demonstrations, marches, petitions, memorials, resolutions, murders, street fighting and literally thousands of arrests, very little desegregation has taken place, and after weeks of ludicrous debate—if such a travesty can be called debate — the greatest legislative body of the Western Hemisphere is in a state of calculated paralysis.

One of the few encouraging signs is that the most telling recent indictment of the Senate was handed down by a Senator. In a speech to the student body of Columbia College, Senator Kenneth B. Keating discussed "Congress on Trial." Congress, Mr. Keating declared, "has failed to keep its own house in order" (a reference to the Bobby Baker and other scandals) and its present mode of operation is "tailor-made for obstruction, delay, inefficiency and minority control." It gives "daily evidence of its incompetence for creative and responsible decision making." The public "is fed up with the nonsense that passes for deliberation in the Congress."

There is not a grain of exaggeration or partisan distortion in all this. When one reads the record of the current proceedings, in which, for example, an entire day, from 10 A.M. to 8:31 P.M., was devoted to quorum calls, one must conclude that the case against the Senate in particular has been understated.

Senator Keating's charges are matched on the Democratic side. Senator Joseph S. Clark summed it up: "Heedless of its mail, allergic to public opinion polls, apparently unaware of the grave moral issue involved, a minority of this body, day after day, under archaic rules and procedures existing in no other legislative body in the civilized world, prevents a majority of this body which is ready to act from acting on the civil rights bill."

The Southern bloc is mainly responsible, but they have accomplices. There are in fact sixty committed votes for cloture—three-fifths of the membership of the Senate is ready to end this preposterous exhibition. The wavering votes are in the border states, the Rocky Mountain states where there are few Negroes, in states like Nevada, Idaho and Arizona with population low in proportion to area and in a few New England states. If the Senators from these states showed an elementary sense of obligation to the people of the United States, as well as to the smaller number whom they directly represent; if they felt even an elementary instinct for the preservation of democratic institutions, the stall-in would end overnight.

## Mr. Johnson's War

Vietnam has been called McNamara's war, and he has accepted the appellation with pride. But it is really President Johnson's war, since only he can make the decision to try for a solution at the UN, pull out, extend the war to North Vietnam, take over control of the fighting from the South Vietnamese, violate the Geneva Convention by bringing in jet aircraft, and what not. It is scarcely likely that on his latest tour Mr. McNamara will be any more successful than in the past. As for General Taylor, he may find material for his memoirs, but victory will be no nearer when he gets back from still another survey of the wreckage.

Mr. Johnson's dilemma is the more painful in that this is an election year. For all of three years *The Nation* has been inveighing against continuation of the Vietnamese venture and warning against perils ahead. In an election year withdrawal, difficult at any time, is politically most unlikely. Even resort to the UN would be received with howls of "appeasement." The most we can hope is that even greater follies will not be piled on the follies of the past.

What Mr. Johnson should note is that the military panaceas now offered will get us nowhere. Bringing in the jets may reduce our losses somewhat in that they will be less vulnerable to antiaircraft fire, but they will also be less effective against the kinds of targets Vietnam offers. Slow fixed-wing aircraft, and helicopters, are well adapted for this type of war. The Vietcong have no aircraft, and they are winning.

An observer writing in *U.S. News & World Report* concludes that we must take over control from "the luxury-loving, *coup d'état*-minded, casualty-fearing Vietnamese officer corps until such time as they can develop the leadership necessary to win the war." But by his own account, that will be never. Moreover, the troops are no more eager to fight than the officers. If they were, they would have been made officers long ago.

As additional protection against irretrievable error, the President should read General S. L. A. Marshall's advice against military assault on North Vietnam. If he is too busy, here is a capsule. Any military operation must proceed on the assumption that the home base and lines of supply and communication are secure. In South Vietnam we have no home base: the Vietcong have infiltrated it and taken it away from us. The South Vietnamese air force has been even more timid



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than the infantry, and in North Vietnam they would have to fight in the air. They would have no more chance than a cadet soloing for the first time. To make any impression against North Vietnam, we should have to abandon the pretense that we are only advising the brave South Vietnamese, and plunge headlong into war. It would be a real war; it might soon become a world war, which could easily turn into a nuclear war. Even in an election year, Mr. Johnson must face facts.

## The Dallas Rejoinder

On April 27, Congressman Bruce Alger of Dallas, Tex., spent almost 19 pages of the *Congressional Record* (pp. 8916-8935) in "Setting the Record Straight on Dallas." By so doing, he joined the stream of "don't blame it on Texas" stories and demands that have been welling out of the Lone Star State for the past several months. That this chorus should be coming from an area as "image-conscious" as Texas is hardly surprising; that Texans should seek to assuage their apparently deep-seated feelings of guilt about the awful event of last November is entirely understandable (and, surely, the state *is* protesting too much for the rest of us to take seriously its remonstrances that "it could have happened anywhere"). It would be tragic, however, if the near-unanimous assurances of Texas newspapers and public figures should come to be believed by the proud citizens of that great commonwealth. For there is something rotten in the state of Texas.

It is, of course, entirely true that President Kennedy *could* have been assassinated anywhere; but he wasn't. The terror was not loosed upon us all from Tulsa or Albuquerque or Shreveport; it happened in Dallas. A brave and superlative personality was killed *there*. When his plans for the trip to Texas were announced, President Kennedy *had* been warned by friends in Washington (and, allegedly, in Texas itself) that it would be dangerous for him to visit Dallas. For pressing reasons of his own he chose to ignore those warnings, went to Dallas, and was shot down in the streets of that city. It happened there, not "anywhere."

And the lash-back also happened there: the President's alleged assassin himself *was* shot down in the very basement of the Dallas police station, while surrounded by policemen. A minister reporting of his own knowledge that children cheered the news of the President's death *was* hounded from his home; a schoolteacher who wrote a letter to the editor of *Time* criticizing Dallas *was* fired from her job; an advertisement written by a theological faculty and calling for a moral reassessment *was* refused by every Dallas newspaper; the vice president of a Dallas oil firm *did* suddenly resign his job after writing an article in *Look* which suggested that maybe the citizens of Dallas, and Texas, bore some responsibility for the political atmosphere there; another vice president, this time of the towering Dallas institution, Neiman-Marcus, *did* resign his job in order to write a fair and balanced treatment of the city; a university professor who wrote of the cultural predispositions to violence in the state *was* abused by a former governor and a score of newspapers. These things, too, did not occur "anywhere," but in Texas.

We do not, of course, hold Texans or Dallas responsible personally or collectively for instigating the assassination. With Jean-Paul Sartre we "do not believe in the degradation of a people," but, also with him, we "do believe in stagnation and stupor." We think it characterizes the politics and, to some extent, the culture of Texas.

There are some signs of reassessment and reawakening. The renaissance in Dallas of the normal politics of the Democratic Party in a grass-roots organization free of extreme Right influence can only be applauded; we hope the ripples of that act broaden. For while November 22 was a day of black tragedy for the national life, it will have been doubly tragic, in futility, if out of that terrible event Texans learn nothing of Texas; if they succumb to the multitudinous voices now wooing them and do not perceive what the rest of the nation has long known: that they are not what they think—that their image of themselves does them little credit—and that they are citizens of a greater commonwealth than Texas, the United States of America.

## One World, One Sky

The tribulations of the Communications Satellite Corporation have not received the attention they deserve. Comsat, it will be remembered, was established to demonstrate that the public business could best be transacted by private enterprise. It is now trying to reach agreement among a multitude of interests, domestic and foreign, public, private and nondescript — like itself. These include the Defense Department and the semi-autonomous Air Force; the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; the Securities and Exchange Commission; the Federal Communications Commission; Hughes Aircraft Company, Radio Corporation of America, General Electric, Space Technology Laboratories, Philco Corporation and other suppliers; Aerospace Corporation, a captive think factory of the Air Force; American Telephone & Telegraph and other communications companies; the International Telecommunications Union; Canada and eighteen European countries, and the State Department. To make outer space really crowded, the Soviet Union is about to crash the party.

Each interest has its own corps of electronics scientists and engineers, much like psychiatrists in a murder trial. The chief technical issue is whether to use three high-altitude (22,300 miles) synchronous satellites, or about twenty-four medium-altitude (6,000 miles) satellites. Another problem, predominantly economic and political, is whether the U.S. military establishment is to share Comsat's network or run its own. A third question, which will be discussed at Geneva in June, is whether the Soviet Union is to be welcomed, or at any rate admitted, into the Free World (but predominantly American) Comsat system, or whether it is to develop a Marxist-Leninist system. In



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view of the Sino-Soviet split, the high-synchronous vs. low-random split, and the military-civilian split in the U.S., there might be a single one-world system, with enormous savings in hardware, frequency bandwidth and freedom from interference.

The impending Soviet bid is naturally viewed with dismay by many of our military communications authorities. It was bad enough when they faced the prospect of sharing communications with Comsat; with the Russians pushing into the picture, patriotic electronics experts may soon require institutional care. They are impaled on the horns of a dreadful dilemma. If the Russians join, they will have their own ground stations, as will all other participants. The Russians, and in fact all member nations, will be in a position to jam the system to a greater or lesser degree in a crisis. The veto will be up in the sky.

But if the Russians are not in, they can jam just the same. Worse, they may be able to use the Comsat satellites for carrying their own military traffic. We might do the same to them if they have their own system. Conceivably, one side might contrive to use the other's satellites while these were in view, and turn them off by radio command as they passed over the horizon. Depending on jamming conditions, the owners might or might not be able to turn them back on.

If there is a moral to these fascinating possibilities which promise to open up a whole new realm of measures and countermeasures, it is that modern technology has become so complex that it is barely manageable with all parties trying to cooperate. If they go separate ways, chaos is in store.

## Father's Day

The founder of Little League baseball, Carl E. Stotz, resigned from the organization in 1955; today he calls it a "Frankenstein." *The New England Journal of Medicine* has recently suggested that Little Leaguers are subjected to psychological strains rather intense for their age, and that there may be merit in the old idea that children can organize their own games. Playground officials the country across shake their heads at the near-professional deportment, and entirely authentic breakdowns, of the mite-sized ball players.

Something has gone seriously wrong, and that something is apparently fathers. Fathers raise the money, build the stands, arrange the schedules and manage the teams. They invest a lot of time and emotion in junior's base running and peg to third. The spectacle of eighteen or more grown men vying with one another of a warm afternoon to show who's got the smartest dam' kid on the diamond would scarcely bring smiles to the face of Dr. Spock. But that, too often, is what happens. The little boys, all done up in imitation big-league uniforms, are sent out there to do or die for daddy. None of them dies, probably, but a good many—both the heroes of the occasion and the goats—suffer obvious, if not immediately measurable, damage.

The Little League came into being because the sandlot was fast disappearing. It is great when the fathers of a community get together to find their sons a place to play ball, but once the field is secured their job should be done. Little boys don't need leagues or bleachers or silver cups; they need a bat, a ball, some gloves and freedom. Men who like to win games should pick on someone their own size.

## Florida Red-Head

Southerners, honed to a hard cynicism by their political redeemers, know that the three basic ingredients for a successful campaign are bunkum, noise and money. Yet Robert King High, lacking all three, is in the run-off for governor of Florida. It was not supposed to happen. Miami Beach gamblers were betting 17 to 1 against it. There were six men in the Democratic race, and the smart money was saying High would run last or next to it.

The pint-sized, red-headed Mayor of Miami had all the disadvantages. He is from the wrong part of the state: never in Florida's history has someone from the Miami area been elected governor. He was, as campaign war chests go, a pauper. He had $98,000; none of his opponents had less than $400,000. He employed no psalm-singing quartets and used no comic strips in his campaign advertising. He is a firm, almost unrealistic, liberal in a state that hasn't elected a liberal to a major office since Claude Pepper was slandered out of the U.S. Senate fourteen years ago. (High was even photographed by a Miami paper playing touch football with some Negro boys!) He is politically naive. He wants, for example, to bring Ed Ball and the bourbon du Pont estate under control, whereas everybody knows you can't do *that*. (See "Florida's Railroad War" by Robert G. Sherrill, *The Nation*, March 9.)

It is amazing, then, that he made the run-off. Even more amazing, he got there because the Negroes of Florida, for once, stuck together in sufficient numbers and backed the man who was for them. In the past they have been bought off or scared off. Not this time —and perhaps never again.

Of the six candidates, High alone stood up for the civil rights bill now pending before Congress. Of course, this federal bill is really no more relevant to the governor's race than was Big Bill Thompson's mayoralty campaign promise to "punch King George in the snoot" if the Chicago voters would back him. But relevant or not, the civil rights bill was and will continue to be the big issue.

The run-off is between the Mayors of Florida's two largest cities, High of Miami and Haydon Burns of Jacksonville. The contrast could not be clearer. Burns, who has run Jacksonville according to Ed Ball's orders for fifteen years, is a clumsily ardent segregationist. Race riots, like police scandals, have been a regular occurrence in his city. He will be backed by the "big money," by the red necks, the Ku Kluxers and the political machines.

That's a winning hand in Florida politics, and High will lose. Still, it is encouraging. When, in recent years, have high principles come so close to winning in the Sunshine State?



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# Vietnam: Alternative to Disaster . . Donald Grant

It is not really very difficult to demonstrate that the United States involvement in the civil war in South Vietnam is a wasteful and futile exercise. Two correspondents in Saigon have just received a Pulitzer Prize for overcoming that difficulty: the story of ever-mounting casualties and expenditures and of diminishing returns for American policy objectives is on public record. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon has assembled the facts and the evidence in a notable speech to his colleagues that is recommended reading.

Senator Morse concluded that the mess in South Vietnam should be turned over to the United Nations, at the same time acknowledging, in part, the difficulties involved. The United Nations is not a world government; it lacks both the power and the political mechanism to force a peaceful solution to a direct confrontation between major powers. In the case of South Vietnam, however, the United Nations has real possibilities for usefulness that have not been explored. It is a pity that this unthinkable thought has never been pursued seriously in the State Department since the United States plunged recklessly into Vietnam in 1955.

There are a number of possible explanations for this paralysis of imagination in Washington. How can the United Nations act effectively in a situation that involves, among other nations, the People's Republic of China, North Vietnam and South Vietnam, none of which is a member of the United Nations? Moreover, as Senator Morse so ably demonstrated, the American position in South Vietnam is legally and morally compromised. Would not exposure of this abominable reality before our enemies and quasi-friends in the UN further damage American prestige?

So we go on, spending $1.5 million a day, sending in upward of 15,000 American troops, some of whom return with full honors but quite dead. From time to time, figures are published to show that members of the Communist Vietcong have been killed or captured by the hundreds. And other figures show that the theoretical strength of the Vietcong is just about what it has been right along.

Periodically, we take a nervous glance at the areas surrounding Vietnam. There was an American project a while back to upset the neutrality in Laos, in favor of the right wing; by now we would settle for neutrality in the Souvanna Phouma center, but find it not easy to restore broken eggs to their shells. Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk seems much too happy when visiting Peking. The State Department people comfort one another by saying the Cambodian Premier is something of a playboy and doesn't really mean it. Even Thailand — the headquarters for John Foster Dulles' SEATO was established in Bangkok — is taking a second look at its all-out commitment to the United States. Historically, the Thais have been good judges of political reality; they maintained their independence through the era of colonialism by playing off the greater powers one against the other.

Instead of these rapid and anxious glances, the time has come for Americans to take a long and resolute look at their position in the whole of Southeast Asia. Using a minimum of common sense we could, I think, learn a good deal. For example:

«The most useful area to deal with is not a swampy piece of real estate called the Mekong Delta, but the entire area covered by the successor states to the old French Indo-China — Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

«The problem is not chiefly military, but political.

«As such, it involves a number of nations, large and small — but no viable solution can be reached without consulting the People's Republic of China.

«For reasons exhaustively detailed by Senator Morse — reasons legal, moral, political and practical — it is highly desirable to achieve a solution through the United Nations.

Ben Roth

*"Please friend . . . don't fight for us!"* La Prensa, *Mexico.*

It is not very helpful to try to "internationalize the problem of Vietnam" through SEATO, by inducing a few troops from the Philippines to join the battle. NATO could not solve the Cyprus problem, and SEATO is a midget compared to NATO, the wounded giant.

What is required is peace, and the isolation of Southeast Asia from the struggles between the great powers. That will not solve all the problems in the area: new nations everywhere are going for some time to have what UN Secretary General U Thant has called "teething troubles." But with some foresight these troubles can be prevented from escalating into dangerous confrontations between the large nations. That is what President Charles de Gaulle of France meant when he spoke of neutralizing Southeast Asia. It is what Senator Morse had in mind when he urged that the problem of South Vietnam be turned over to the United Nations.

Time is scarce. As Senator Morse noted, even now there is talk of United States-led attacks on North Vietnam. He also suggested that Peking could not be counted on to accept this offensive passively.

"This escalation on both sides," he told the Senate, "can only lead to a disaster for the United States. It can only lead from being bogged down in South Vietnam to being bogged down in North Vietnam and then to being bogged down in China. . . . All the briefings on that subject matter that I have received thus far in my many years in the Senate show that is not the place to pick as a battleground with communism."

If that is where the present course

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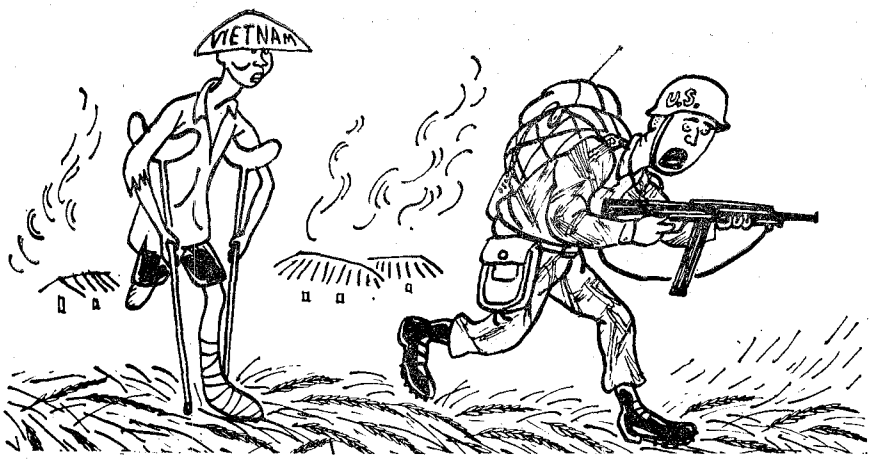


Ben Roth

*"Company, Advance!" Abu*: The Observer, *London.*

is leading, it may not be so unthinkable, after all, to consider the obvious alternative to disaster. The UN must play a role in that alternative, but not an initiating role. The first step—and as soon as possible — is to convene another meeting of the nations involved in the South Vietnam affair, a meeting similar to the one in Geneva in 1954, which ended the Indo-Chinese war with France. This time the purpose would be to hammer out an acceptable plan for neutralizing the entire area — Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and South Vietnam. And this time there should be no nonsignatories to the agreement, as were the United States and its chosen government in South Vietnam in 1954.

The Geneva meeting included Cambodia, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos, France, the Soviet Union, Britain, the People's Republic of China and the United States. There is no reason why other interested nations should not be invited. The Vietcong, which appears to operate with a considerable degree of autonomy, probably should be represented.

Negotiations designed to neutralize the successor states to the old French Indo-China should begin outside the United Nations because key nations, including Communist China, are not members. But the project would not end at such a meeting. A plan, once agreed upon, would be presented to the United Nations Security Council, and the Council would be asked to set up a peace-keeping force to guarantee that neutralization became and remained a fact.

Further, as the United Nations forces entered South Vietnam, United States forces would leave. UN forces would also be stationed in North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. As an incident to peace, the border dispute between Thailand and Cambodia would have to be settled. The most difficult task, however, would be to achieve an equitable ending to the civil war in South Vietnam.

A longing for peace certainly is not foreign to the people in South Vietnam. More important, it is a perhaps harsh reality of world relations that the representatives of small nations or fractions of nations in Southeast Asia would find it extremely difficult to reject the concerted will of the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

But what do we mean by neutralization? A State Department official recently told me that any neutralization plan for Southeast Asia was unrealistic because "no Communist nation ever gives up communism, and North Vietnam would not." The issue, however, is not whether the bus lines in Hanoi are state-owned or the property of free, private enterprise. Yugoslavia is a Communist state — and a neutralist one. The essence of neutralization, in this context, is that the state in question must not be used as a pawn by any of the great powers.

Until an attempt is made to find out, it is impossible to know whether Peking would accept a neutralization plan. But it is not totally unreasonable to assume that Mao Tse-tung would welcome the removal of United States forces from the proximity of his southern borders. Advantages for the United States are obvious. North Vietnam would be less subject to pressure from Peking. The American expenditure of men and money would cease, and the danger of our involvement in a major conflict under the least favorable terms would be avoided.

Since neutralization of Southeast Asia is fervently advocated by de Gaulle, one can assume French cooperation. British cooperation is almost as automatic: stabilization of the old Indo-China area would ease relations for them in Malaysia and Hong Kong. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev has staked his career on peaceful coexistence and the support of neutralism. This alone does not assure Soviet cooperation, but Moscow now runs the danger of overextended commitments in an area where the power of decision tends to rest with Peking. This is not in the Soviet interest. Peace could hardly be unwelcome in Laos and Cambodia; both strive for neutralism now, with only partial success. Everything we know about Ho Chi Minh, the North Vietnamese leader, leads one to believe he would be delighted to escape from the role of the little fish ever about to be swallowed by the very large Chinese fish.

This plan for peace and neutralism in Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and South Vietnam has been under private discussion within the United Nations. As UN diplomats turn it over in their minds some interesting facets appear. Laos and Cambodia are already members of the United Nations. It would be highly desirable, in connection with the neutralization plan, for North Vietnam and South Vietnam also to be admitted. They could come in as separate states, but without prejudice to future integration, as provided in the Geneva agreement of 1954. There are precedents for this in the merger of Egypt and Syria, and their later resumption of separate nationhood, and in the current merger of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. UN membership rules and practices readily encompass such developments.

Furthermore, the admission of North Vietnam and South Vietnam would itself be an interesting precedent. How about North Korea and South Korea? How about East Germany and West Germany? How about — for that matter — main-



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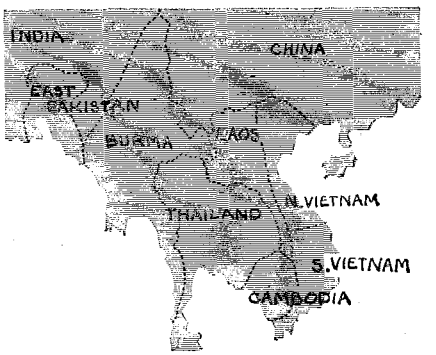
land China and Taiwan? This, to be sure, will also occur to the astute gentlemen in Peking, but as U Thant noted recently, a few unthinkable thoughts may also be good for people other than Americans — among them the Chinese.

By participating in a conference of nations directly interested in the Southeast Asia problem, and by seeing the decisions of that conference underwritten by the United Nations, Communist China would have a chance to test the winds blowing from the East River. The United States and the Soviet Union could test Chinese intentions at close quarters, and a step would have been taken toward including the dragon within the world system.

Policing neutralism in Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and




South Vietnam would be a tough assignment, and there is reason to believe that U Thant would welcome it. Peace is Thant's business. He also believes the United Nations grows in strength by using its muscles. With advance agreement among the great powers, he could anticipate vigorous and unanimous action by the Security Council, which would help make his task more feasible.

There still remains, of course, the business of the dominoes — the theory that unless the Vietcong is utterly effaced in South Vietnam, all of Southeast Asia will fall to communism, piece after piece. The domino metaphor was always dubious; it loses all relevance if neutralism in Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam and South Vietnam is guaranteed by a United Nations peace force on the spot.

Southeast Asia is a complex of islands and peninsulas inhabited by a variety of human beings of several cultures, sub-cultures, religions and political and socio-economic systems. None is really suitable as a counter in a parlor game, whether played in Moscow, Peking or Washington.

## Radio Right

# Hate Clubs of the Air . . . . . Fred J. Cook

Right-wing fanatics, casting doubt on the loyalty of every President of the United States since Herbert Hoover, are pounding the American people, this Presidential election year, with an unprecedented flood of radio and television propaganda. The hate clubs of the air are spewing out a minimum of 6,600 broadcasts a week, carried by more than 1,300 radio and television stations —nearly one out of every five in the nation—in a blitz that saturates every one of the fifty states with the exception of Maine.

The symbols on the map [page 525] represent cities in which radio or TV stations (or both) broadcast the doctrines of the rabid Right. It looks as if the nation were seized with a virulent pox. Some stations broadcast a single right-wing spellbinding program twice a day; many run three or four of the leading programs daily throughout the week, with television on Sunday. This loading of station logs with hate-club indoctrinations is generally unanswered, for there are no comparable amounts of money, organization or broadcasting resources on the labor and liberal fronts. (For example, the well-known Edward P. Morgan program, sponsored by the AFL-CIO and released through A.B.C. radio network, is heard on only 231 outlets.)

The one-sided hammering at the American mind is made possible by two main factors: the enormous concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few egocentric reactionaries like H. L. Hunt and J. Howard Pew, and the foundation tax dodge which permits such men to subsidize their propaganda at the expense of the rest of the nation's taxpayers. The importance of the foundation gimmick in financing the spate of radical Right propaganda becomes apparent when one takes a look at the major right-wing programs now being pumped out over the airways. Here is a compilation, made about the first of the year, of the major propagandists and their audiences:

Twentieth Century Reformation Hour. Sponsored by the tax-exempt Christian Beacon, Inc., this program carries the voice of the Rev. Carl McIntire of Collingswood, N.J., five days a week over 546 radio stations in forty-five states. McIntire is now, in the terms of air-wave exposure, the No. 1 spokesman of the radical Right.

Life Line. This is the tax-exempt foundation set up by Texas oil billionaire, H. L. Hunt, to purvey his extremist views. Produced in Washington, D.C., and featuring the voice of Gene Scudder, a former federal employee, Life Line is now heard once (sometimes twice) daily on 325 radio stations and weekdays on sixty-nine TV stations in forty-two states and the District of Columbia. [See "H. L. Hunt: Portrait of a Super-Patriot," by Robert G. Sherrill, *The Nation*, February 24.]

Manion Forum. Created by Clarence Manion, former Dean of the Notre Dame law school and briefly a minor official in the Eisenhower administration, this program is produced in South Bend, Ind., and heard weekly over 261 radio stations and three television stations in forty-one states and the District of Columbia.

Howard Kershner's Commentary on the News. Produced by the Christian Freedom Foundation and bankrolled initially by more than $800,000 of tax-exempt Pew oil money, the Kershner commentary issues from 250 West 57 Street, New York, and is heard weekly on 362 stations in forty-one states.

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*Fred J. Cook's* The FBI Nobody Knows, *expanded from a special issue of* The Nation, *will be published by Macmillan this spring.*



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DAN SMOOT REPORTS. An offshoot of Hunt's first propaganda mill, *Facts Forum*, this program carries the voice of the former Federal Bureau of Investigation agent who was then Hunt's commentator. Smoot subsequently went into business for himself, established his headquarters in Dallas, and now purveys his message weekly over seventy radio and forty television stations.

AMERICA'S FUTURE. This so-called "educational institution," also tax-exempt, operates out of New Rochelle, N.Y. It is the radio arm of the arch-Right Committee for Constitutional Government, born back in New Deal days out of newspaper publishers' and big business' horror of the 40-hour week. It produces a 15-minute news commentary by R. K. Scott, once sales manager for a regional radio network in Raleigh, N.C. The importance of the program, carried now by 365 stations in forty-eight states, lies in its network status. Originally distributed by A.B.C., it shifted in 1960 to the Mutual network.

CHRISTIAN CRUSADE. Another foundation, its program is the property of the anti-Communist evangelist, Billy James Hargis. Bankrolled in 1962 by an estimated $1 million in tax-exempt income, Christian Crusade, from its headquarters in Tulsa, Okla., last year was distributing five days a week to fifty-five radio stations; in addition, a weekly television program was being carried by seven stations. This year, Hargis greatly expanded his operation. In his monthly newsletter to the dedicated, he announced that on February 16, the Christian Crusade would be extended to more than fifty additional stations, comprising the Intermountain Network and covering the states of Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nebraska, Nevada, South Dakota and New Mexico. This, Hargis wrote, was "virgin territory for Christian conservatism," and he added: "The people who live in these states are generally 'fundamental Christians' and essentially patriotic . . . they need only guidance and inspiration to do battle on behalf of God and country. . . . No effort is more important than radio. . . . Local anti-Communist chapters are great, but for the most part they are patriots talking to patriots, while radio reaches the uninformed — those who have never heard."

RADIO EDITION OF THE INDEPENDENT AMERICAN. This 15-minute radio commentary carries the views of Kent and Phoebe Courtney, the New Orleans radical rightists who publish *The Independent American* and helped organize the Conservative Society of America. Thirty-nine stations in eighteen states carry the commentary.

CHURCH LEAGUE OF AMERICA. A weekly radio series originating in Wheaton, Ill., this endeavor began in 1962 and now has a following over seventeen stations in eight states.

In addition to these major right-wing efforts, there is the Citizens' Council Forum, the air arm of Southern white supremacy. This is no mere local or regional effort. As far back as April, 1959, the Forum announced that its programs were being carried on television stations in ten states and that its radio programs were being heard over stations in thirty states. In its April-May, 1961, issue, the Forum bragged of sixty-four TV stations and 319 radio stations in forty-three states, and that, during 1960, it had distributed 1,300 TV programs and 6,419 radio shows. With the intensification of the civil rights battle, this performance has been stepped up still further.

A propaganda effort conducted on such a scale, especially where expensive TV time and production is involved, implies a staggering sum of money. The backing comes from wealthy businessmen, presumably responsible leaders in their businesses and communities. Clarence Manion, for instance, who claims that it costs $6,000 a week to maintain his regular radio programs, has said that the money is given by 582 "leading industrialists, business and professional men." Even $6,000 a week is not enough to defray all of Manion's costs, for he often appeals for additional funds to back special projects. Such is the tab for just one of the right-wing programs. What the overall outpouring costs, no man can say with authority; but Wesley McCune, a former federal official and now director of Group Research, Inc., a Washington organization that checks on rightists, estimated last year that the air-wave propaganda budget was close to $20 million.

Except for the Citizens' Council Forum, dedicated primarily to the race issue, the themes and viewpoints of the right-wing broadcasts are almost identical and interchangeable, and their leadership is closely linked in the blood brotherhood of fanaticism. Though the organizations are autonomous, each encourages and promotes the products of the others, and the crossties of their leadership dramatize their identity of interest. Throughout the movement, the tie that binds seems to be that of the John Birch Society. The Birchites may have been discredited in the majority of minds when their leader, Robert Welch, charged that President Eisenhower was a dedicated agent of the Communist conspiracy; but all the evidence shows the organization is far from dead—that, indeed, its views live on, promulgated by other mouths, and that it serves to coalesce the fanaticisms of the Right.

Immediately after the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, there was a temporary revulsion in America against the doctrines of hate. National leaders, the clergy and spokesmen for sanity in many walks of life emphasized that when fanatics tear down the image of the Presidency and foment doubts about the loyalty of the nation's most exalted public figure, they create a climate of hate and unreason in which the unstable inevitably are incited to violence. This was so well understood that Thomas G. Aaron resigned as chairman of the Kentucky Young Americans for Freedom, saying: "I am now satisfied that the climate of political degeneracy and moral hysteria masquerading as 'true Americanism' bears substantial culpability for the murder of the President of the United States."

Ironically, in the weeks immediately preceding his assassination, one of President Kennedy's principal concerns had been this wholesale spawning of hate. The columnist Marquis Childs reported on October 10, 1963, that the President, in talking with an old and trusted friend, had "unburdened himself with considerable bitterness on the subject of top-bracket taxpayers and the tax-exemption they use to spread propaganda of the extreme Right."

But not even the tragedy of Dallas could move or deter the merchants of hate. Aides of the Democratic National Committee, who have been monitoring the broad-



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casts, report that the attempts to paint Kennedy with a Red smear (attempts that even alleged the Communists had chosen the members of his cabinet) are now being transferred with equal virulence to President Johnson. The attack takes the form that Mr. Johnson named Chief Justice Earl Warren to head the commission investigating the Kennedy assassination at the behest of the Communist organ, *The Daily Worker*. McIntire, Manion and Smoot, the Democrats say, "have all repeated this libel."

What are some of the other views being purveyed to the people of the nation in these dovetailing hate broadcasts?

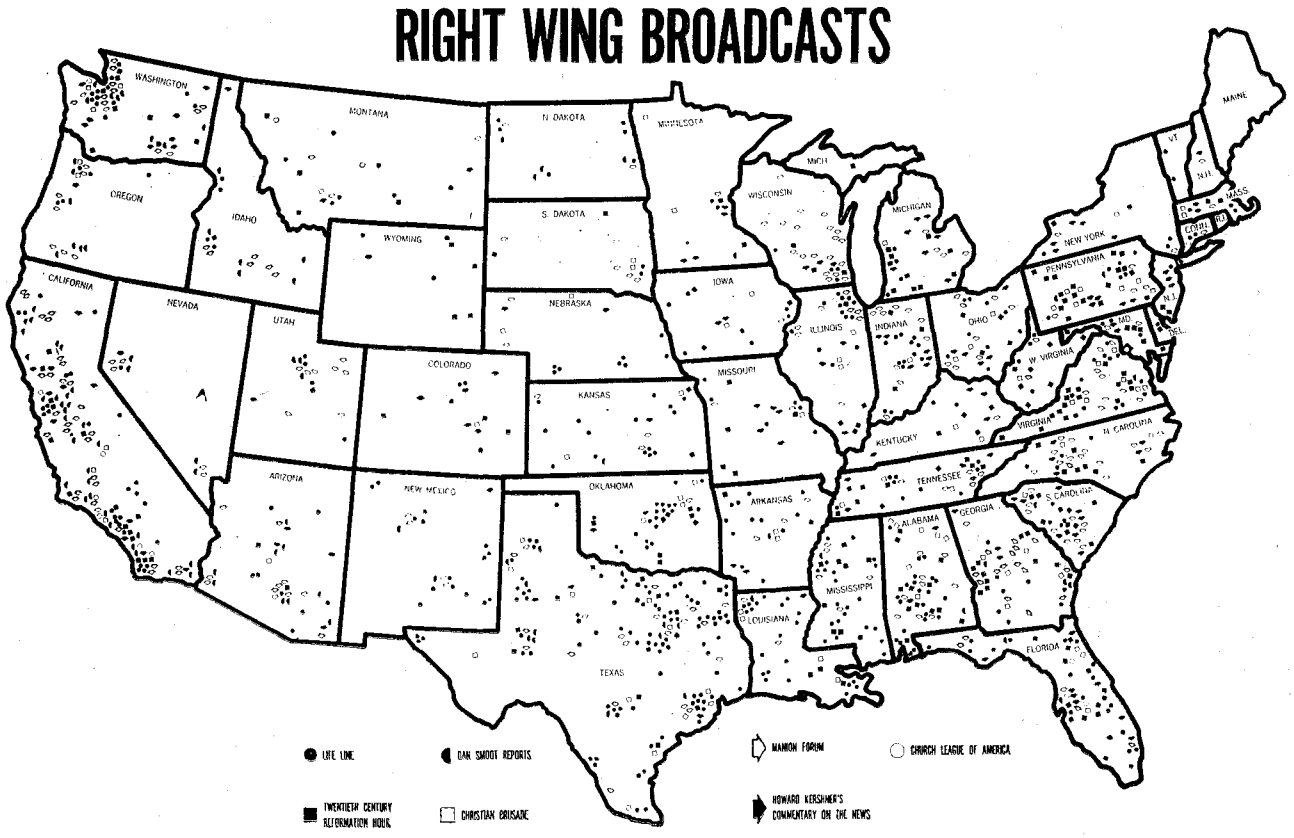
They are, in essence: Get the U.S. out of the UN, and the UN out of the U.S. Abolish all foreign aid. Abolish unemployment compensation. Promote right-to-work laws, with the object of crippling and eventually wiping out labor unions. Impeach Chief Justice Warren — and other Justices of the Supreme Court. Abolish Social Security, a "socialistic" device; sell the Tennessee Valley Authority to private interests because it also is "socialistic"; fight integration; oppose medicare. And, though one has to be a bit deft about advocating this (and not all of them advocate it), "take care of" the Jews and the Catholics —and even that preponderance of the Protestant ministry which refuses to follow the doctrines of the hate peddlers.

In addition to this basic script, the individual propagandists have their pet peeves and prejudices— and their own mannerisms. Some are crude, some suave. But, in sum, they would roll back all of the social legislation of the last thirty years and, in the process, they would crush minorities and dissidents. To get the full impact, one must listen to a few of the individual voices in representative broadcasts.

The Rev. Carl McIntire, the deposed Presbyterian minister, a rabble-rousing voice on 546 radio stations, denounces the civil rights program as "serving the ends of radical powers that are working for a Socialist order in this free land." Behind the slogans "liberty" and "democracy," he sees the hideous visage of "planned economy." Brotherhood Week is a "gross perversion of Christian teachings." Roman Catholicism is the "greatest enemy of freedom and liberty that the world has had to face today." This is a surprise because, in McIntire's world, the National Council of Churches also qualifies for "the greatest enemy" title. It is "apostate, Communist and Modernist"; it is "the strongest ally of Russia and the radical labor movement within the U.S."

Hunt's Life Line faithfully reflects Hunt's views. It damns the Supreme Court for, as Hunt sees it, perverting the Constitution; it believes the federal government is so Communist-infiltrated that it is practically Communist now. Clarence Manion, speaking with the voices of those 582 bankrolling industrialists of *Manion's Forum*, opposes "the confiscatory, Marxist income tax, wanton foreign aid spending, socialistic 'public power,' futile conferences with Kremlin gangsters, ridiculous budgets, federal aid to education and unrestrained labor bossism. . . ."

Billy James Hargis' batting average rivals Manion's in the "against" league. In one speech, he condemned communism, liberalism, the National Council of Churches, federal aid to education, Jack Paar, federal medical care for the aged, Ed Sullivan, the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting, Eleanor Roosevelt, disarmament, Steve Allen and the Freedom Riders. Even this impressive list does not exhaust the tally of Hargis' hates. He's also against integration, which he calls "mon-



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grelization," and as for the brotherhood of man, anyone who would preach such rot, in Hargis' view, would follow "the Marxist class struggle theory."

Dan Smoot also employs a scatter gun, but the U.S. Supreme Court is his special target. He sees the federal government as the great enemy. ". . . we place our freedom and our lives in the hands of political quacks and witch doctors in Washington whose power to destroy us is unchecked and unlimited," he says. "If you want the government to provide you with clothing, housing, food, medical care, training in an occupation and security in old age — get yourself a life term in prison." He views the Bay of Pigs fiasco as "organized betrayal, planned in Washington and Moscow." For Smoot, the whole world is booby-trapped with conspiracy and betrayal; but it is when he discusses the Supreme Court that he really sees red. "Earl Warren is a Socialist who thinks the government has unlimited power to tax and spend for anything. . . . He has the same attitude toward the Constitution that the Communists and all other Socialists have. . . . There are ample grounds for impeachment, not only of Warren, but of all nine Supreme Court Justices."

So it goes. No one who studies such broadcasts can fail to be impressed by the unanimity with which the forces of the radical Right hammer at all the things they are "against." This is not by chance; it is planned that way. In February, 1962, the right-wing leaders held a little-publicized meeting in Washington. It was called by Billy James Hargis, who presided, and resulted in the formation of a top-level coordinating committee called the Anti-Communist Liaison. The director of the Liaison is Edward Hunter, who runs its affairs from his home in Alexandria, Va. Hunter, a right-wing writer who claims he invented the term "brainwashing," has attracted attention recently by charges that a new "Red anti-anti-Communist movement" is afoot.

The links between the organizations combining to produce the tidal wave of radical Right frothings show in the close interrelationships of the commanders of the various endeavors and in the fact that so many of them have been involved in the discredited doings of the John Birch Society. The advisory board of Hunt's Life Line, for example, includes General A. C. Wedemeyer, of Washington, originally a member of the advisory committee of the Birch Society and contributing editor of its journal, *American Opinion*. A comrade in arms of Wedemeyer's on the Birch Society board was Clarence Manion, one of the original members of the Birch executive committee and still a power in its governing council. With such a tie, it seems hardly an accident that the Manion Forum frequently features material prepared by Hunt's Life Line. The Forum also makes good use of other radical Right products. It gives prominence to material from Dan Smoot's Report, and Manion and Billy James Hargis are closely linked, Manion being one of eighteen prominent Birchites who serve on the Christian Crusade's National Advisory Committee.

Hargis, like Manion, is deeply entwined in the web of the radical Right. Besides his links to Manion and the Birch Society, he is a top officer of the fanatical right-wing organization, "We, the People!" He is also a member of the International Council of Christian Churches, the religious wing of the ideological complex masterminded by the Rev. Carl McIntire. McIntire, incidentally, had close ties to the late Merwin K. Hart, a strong anti-Semite and Birch Society organizer.

The other radical Right broadcasters show similar links to the central core of Birchism. Kershner's tax-exempt Christian Freedom Foundation, with its 362 station outlets, features on its board of directors a prominent John Birch Society speaker. Similarly, America's Future, carrying the voice of R. K. Scott over 365 network stations in forty-eight states, numbers among its trustees Thomas J. Anderson, of Nashville, Tenn., publisher of *Farm and Ranch* magazine. Anderson, who serves with Manion on the Birch governing council, is also a member of Hargis' advisory council. Another prominent Birchite on the board of America's Future is F. Gano Chance, of Centralia, Mo. The Birchite influence in this particular operation is of more than ordinary significance, because America's Future, in addition to its radio activities, finances and directs "Operation Textbook," designed to "evaluate" textbooks for their presentation of American society, government and economics.

Anderson is one of the ideological bridges to the activities of the Courtneys in New Orleans. He was a principal speaker at the "New Party Rally" sponsored by the Courtneys in Chicago in 1959; he also spoke at the "solid South conference" they called in Shreveport, La., in 1960; and he, along with Manion, has been proclaimed "acceptable" as a Presidential candidate by the Courtneys' Conservative Society of America. Nearly half the persons listed on the letterhead of the society are members or endorsers of the John Birch Society. Prominent among such names are those of Maj. Gen. C. A. Willoughby, who is a member of Hunter's Liaison committee, and J. Bracken Lee, who is associated with Hargis' Christian Crusade.

Such are the crossties, such the dovetailing personalities and views, that are bombarding American minds at a rate, if the Citizens' Councils' broadcasts are included, of better than 1,000 broadcasts a day. This is a potent and insidious barrage, especially in a nation almost barren of any comparable counter-force: oil millionaires do not tend to be passionate liberals.

One recourse for liberal forces would appear to be to demand free time to counter some of the radical Right's wild-swinging charges. The Federal Communications Commission's "primer on fairness" provides that, where such controversial programs are aired, the opposing point of view must be presented if offended parties demand equal time. The object is to prevent just the kind of one-sided debate that is now going on, and to guarantee a balance that, in practice, is rarely achieved.

The reason why the "equal time" rule so often fails of its purpose may be better understood if one considers the experience of station WTTV in Indianapolis. The station broadcasts Dan Smoot Reports, paid for by businessman Harold Ransburg in the name of Americans for Conservative Action. According to Robert Holben, WTTV station manager, Smoot's extremism often brings "complaints from individuals who take exception, but no organized group has demanded time to reply." For example, the station received a considerable number of such protests after Smoot, on one show last winter, urged that "people



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should move away from closely organized churches."

Richard K. Shull, writing in the Indianapolis *Times*, pointed out that, while such statements may stir the wrath of individuals, they are not specific enough to pinpoint a particular group — and so to bring action under the "equal time" provision. "Smoot has an evasive way of failing to name names or organizations in his sweeping attacks," Shull wrote. "For example, when he intimates that church leaders are Communist dupes, it is unlikely any local minister is going to step forward and declare himself to be a Trotskyite, pinko, Comsymp or such in order to qualify as the offended party entitled to rebuttal time."

And so, in insidious and passion-arousing generalities, the poison of the radical Right continues to be spread. The nation-wide blanketing that has resulted could doubtless be curbed to a great extent if the Internal Revenue Service were doing its job. A foundation to qualify for tax-exemption — and to qualify its donors for tax-exemptions on their gifts — must be devoted primarily to religious, educational or charitable pursuits. The radical Right propaganda foundations have taken advantage of these provisions to cloak their propaganda activities in gauze robes of religious and educational pretense. Wright Patman, the Texas Congressman, has been hammering for three years at the multimillion-dollar foundation tax loopholes, and other Democrats and liberals in Congress feel strongly that such propaganda activities could never qualify for tax-exemption if Internal Revenue ever seriously tried to enforce existing tax laws.

But Internal Revenue, despite Patman's vigorous prodding, has shown no inclination to move. The power of the Democratic segregationists in the South, of the Republican rural right-wing dynasties, of the multimillion-dollar foundations themselves (they've placed ten foundation representatives on the Treasury's fourteen-man advisory committee on the foundation problem) — all of these dovetailing tentacles of power inhibit action and encourage the Treasury to do nothing. Meanwhile, the rabid Right goes its unimpeded way, mouthing its fantasies, preaching its destructive creed of hate and suspicion, casting doubt on the loyalty of Presidents, on the motives of the Supreme Court, on the trustworthiness of any American official who opposes its eighteenth-century, pre-Revolutionary creed that only the select and the wealthy have the right to rule. If liberals or "leftists" had ever indulged in a fraction of such nonsense, the House Un-American Activities Committee would have risen up, roaring with outrage, at 5 o'clock in the morning.

# The Warren Court . . . . . Robert S. Hirschfield

The Supreme Court's historic decision on February 17 that Congressional districts must be substantially equal in population was only the latest manifestation of the active governmental role which the judicial branch has played during the decade of Earl Warren's Chief Justiceship. In fact, no Court has assumed a more evident policy-making function than the Warren Court. And none has been more vehemently attacked from so many quarters for involving itself in so wide a range of controversial issues.

As Justice William Brennan noted in an address last fall: "There is sectional opposition because of the desegregation cases; state opposition because of recent decisions involving state powers as they relate to aspects of criminal law; rural opposition because of the reapportionment cases; and church opposition because of the prayer case." He might have added that there is also opposition from ultra-patriots because of the Court's decisions protecting political nonconformity, from hyper-moralists because of its rulings against censorship of allegedly obscene books and films, and from arch-conservatives in general because of its "libertarianism." Still other critics of the Warren Court include the Chief Justices of the highest state courts, who in 1958 called upon the Supreme Court to exercise greater self-restraint in dealing with federal-state relations; and the American Bar Association, which adopted a series of resolutions in 1959 expressing concern over the judiciary's decisions on internal security problems.

Collectively, these opponents are formidable, and even though they have remained on the whole scattered and unorganized, they have not been ineffective. For example, after the Court's belated attempt in 1956-57 to reassert the constitutional guarantees trampled on during the McCarthy period, a coalition of civil liberties and civil rights restrictionists introduced Court-curbing legislation in Congress; and with the cry, "They put the Negroes in the schools and now they've driven God out," the coalition reacted to the 1962 prayer-ban decision by proposing several constitutional amendments to nullify that ruling. None of these has been acted on, but they do put pressure on the Court and encourage other attacks.

Thus three anti-Court proposals which would radically alter our existing governmental system are now pending before the state legislatures. Sponsored by the "General Assembly of the States" and designed to "strengthen the states in the federal system," these resolutions request Congress to call a convention for the purpose of amending the Constitution in various respects. The first would add to Article V (procedures for amending the Constitution) a provision permitting the direct initiation of proposed amendments by two-thirds of the state legislatures; the second would eliminate federal judicial authority over the apportionment of state legislatures; and the third would establish a "Court of the Union," composed of the state Chief Justices, with authority to review and reverse Supreme Court decisions that relate to the reserved powers of the states.

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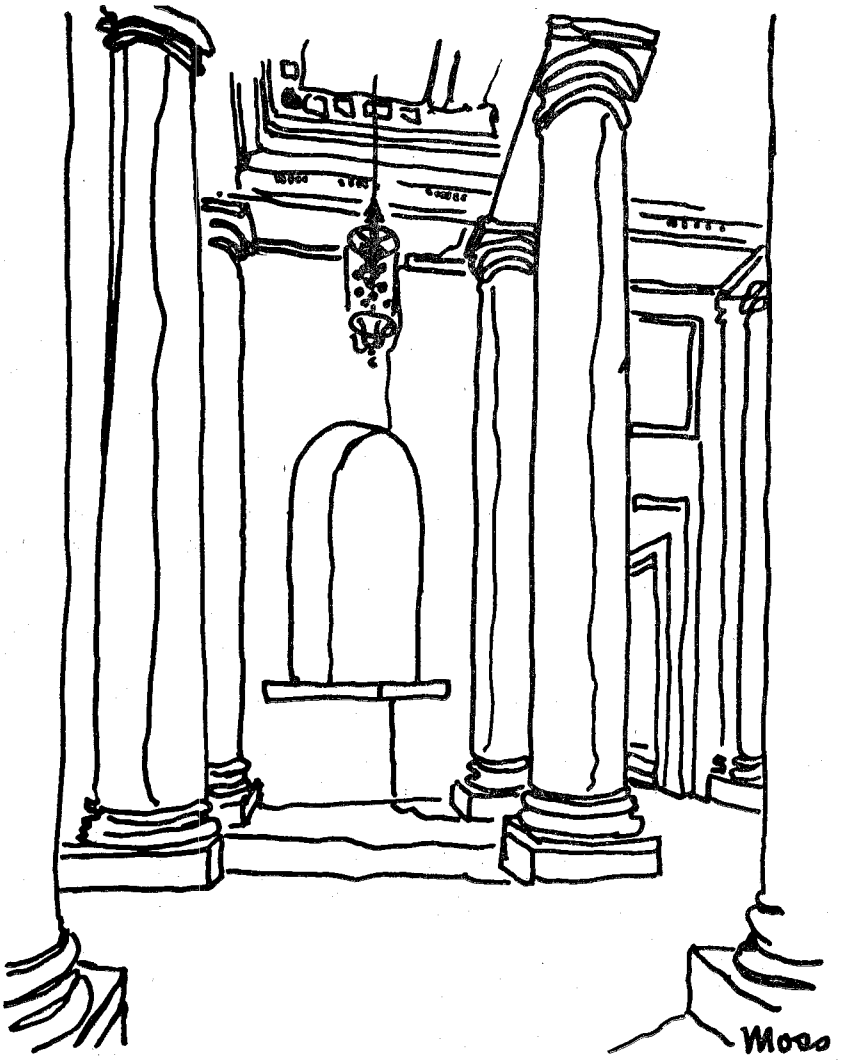

*The Supreme Court Building; Inside the Main Entrance*

Criticism of the Court has come, however, not only from those whose oxen have been gored. Suggestions that the Justices desist from formulating unnecessarily broad principles of constitutional law, that they eschew ruling on controversial issues which can be avoided without serious constitutional consequences, that they seek "neutral principles" on which to base their decisions, and that they refrain from public discussion of pending constitutional problems have also been made by academic and professional friends of the Court.

Most of these suggestions focus on the methods of judicial analysis used by the Warren Court, on its positive attitude toward the Court's function in our society, and on its activist behavior in the exercise of judicial power. But few of the Court's more responsible critics question the essential "rightness" of its major policy-making decisions over the past decade. And herein lies the clue to why its opponents have been unable to curb the Warren Court's authority: During the past ten years that Court has been a vital instrument in defending and extending the political principles on which the nation is founded. Racial equality and fair representation, freedom of expression and separation of church and state, due process of law and uniformly high standards of justice—these issues on which the Court has acted are critical tests of America's attachment to its own ideals, and attacks on the Court's decisions are attacks on those ideals.

If it is difficult to argue with the substance of the Court's landmark decisions, however, there is still a valid and serious question regarding its activities: Why is it that the *judiciary* has acted on so many important national problems, when the political organs of government are supposed to make public policy? This is not a simple matter, but the short answer is that the political branches cannot or will not act on those problems. Congress could not move on civil rights in the 1950s because of Southern obstructionism; the rural-dominated state legislatures refused to reapportion themselves for decades on end; criminal defendants do not have a "lobby" to represent their interests; religion is too sensitive an issue for most politicians; and similarly there has been great difficulty in using political means to calm the anti-Communist hysteria generated by cold-war tensions.

This inability of the political process to meet basic problems in our society accounts primarily for the Supreme Court's attempts to deal with them. The Court has acted as a catalyst in the movement to secure equal rights for the Negro and fairness in representation for all citizens, and it has stood as a protector of individual liberty against governmental restriction, because the needs of the nation have required action on these problems, and because the only place in our system of government where that action could be taken has been the Court. It has in this way operated according to a principle of *organic compensation* — analogous to the functioning of the human body—by which the inefficiency or incapacity of one branch of the body politic demands an increase in the activity of another if the society's health is to be preserved. The Supreme Court has indeed been involved in resolving many of our fundamental national problems, but the most relevant question regarding this judicial activity is: What would the result have been had the Court *not* acted on those problems?

To be sure, the Court could avoid, or postpone, ruling on some of the explosive issues presented, but it is an inherent and unique characteristic of our system that sooner or later, directly or indirectly, most of the nation's important political, social and economic problems become constitutional questions; and that the Supreme Court through its power to interpret the meaning of the Constitution must ultimately play a major role in resolving them. Contrary to the popular view, the Court is a *political* organ of government, and policy-making is one of its functions. Moreover, the Court has on the whole—and clearly in recent times —been a responsive instrument of



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American democracy. Despite its appointive nature, it has often broken the trail for elected representatives intent on carrying out the popular will.

It is certainly legitimate to fear that the indefinite continuation of judicial policy-making in so many vital areas of American life could be dangerous both for the country and for the Court. But the principal responsibility for making such judicial activity unnecessary lies with the political branches, and in any event this fear should not be exaggerated. History demonstrates that the power of the Court will easily be checked whenever it loses touch with the needs and aspirations of the nation.

The Supreme Court under Earl Warren's leadership has used the judicial policy-making power wisely and well to help realize the goals of our society. It has played a central role in fashioning a "color-blind" Constitution, in protecting freedom of thought and expression, in establishing higher standards for the administration of justice, in maintaining the "wall of separation" between church and state, and in achieving a more representative political system. In sum, it has contributed greatly to the preservation of constitutional rule and to the strengthening of democratic government in the United States, and it has done so under adverse conditions of global and domestic crisis. No Court in United States history has acted more decisively to guard the nation's basic law or to remind the American people of their political heritage.

# Anatomy of a New Politics . . . . Charles D. Bolton

Almost two years ago *The Nation** called for a "new politics." While the phrase continues to echo among the politically alienated, little substance has been added to convert the phrase from a plea into a direction. The disjuncture between the present style of politics and the requirements of the contemporary scientific - economic - organizational structure of society has been made clear, but the content of a new style of politics is still unspecified.

Most discussions center on the question of what issues a new politics should deal with and how these issues—civil rights, unemployment, peace, etc., — should be resolved. This approach, in turn, leads to the definition of a new politics in terms of new coalitions of interest groups or realignment of the present political parties. But this begs the real question. It is not because the pattern of coalitions is now unsatisfactory that important questions are not even discussed in the political arena. The difficulty lies in the fact that American politics continues to be organized in coalitions that are themselves essentially apolitical interest groups. The present parties are maintained by individual political entrepreneurs who find them a convenient focus for attracting the support of various economic, ethnic, social, religious and age groups, which in turn view politics only as an incidental instrument through which to gain advantage in spheres of life important to them. While the retention of pluralistic centers of power is imperative for a democracy, modern technology and social organization thrust upon the political institution roles of initiative, planning and coordination for which the existing style of politics is plainly inappropriate.

Liberals have come up with little for a new politics except to recommend that the federal government be given more power to solve the ills of society. But this is not a new direction and is as far from the mark as the "localism" of the Right. The level of political power should be a matter of neither slogans nor principle, but of administrative efficiency and the capacity of the political apparatus to assure democratic responsibility at the given level. Power operating in an intellectual and political vacuum is dangerous for a democratic society.

Intellectuals of the Left often express hope that a new political movement can be fashioned from intellectual liberals, the peace and civil rights movements and various groups with "problems." Such people would be almost certain to participate in any new politics, but overlap among intellectual liberals and activists in the peace and civil rights movements is so great that the number involved is actually quite small. And, even though an unconscionable number of Americans are still underprivileged, any politics which opens to the future must be organized primarily by the affluent. A new style of politics cannot emerge from the disadvantaged, undereducated, frustrated classes, which can have little vision beyond the immediate amelioration of their own condition. One of the barriers to maturity in American politics has been the diversion of attention from the reality of social change to the immediate plight of "problem" groups. It has been assumed that the big things will be taken care of by the genius of some unchanging, sacred "American Way of Life," and that domestic politics need concern itself only with patching up sectors that have not quite made the grade.

The underprivileged certainly cannot be ignored by a new politics. In the long run, danger of a take-over by the radical Right lies in the stagnation of a large class hopelessly outdistanced by technological change. The old middle-class conservatism is numerically too small to create more than divisiveness, and the Left is completely discredited. Therefore, as the "Other Americans" become more desperate, they are apt to turn to demagogues of the Right, and could produce some American form of Peronism—doubtless to be called Uncle Samism. A major aim of a new politics must be to prevent the hardening of this underprivileged condition, but that will require a far more fundamental program than job retraining and similar patchwork proposals. Nor can required changes simply be legislated. For example, the cultural impoverishment of Negroes can be changed only by going to the very fabric of the family and neighborhood situations.

*"Time for a New Politics" by Carey McWilliams, May 26, 1962.

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The realistic solution to the problem of migratory labor is to eliminate it, not to ameliorate it, and the unions cannot be saved in their traditional form. But the remedies called for by such problems are not apt to be politically acceptable to the groups directly involved. Some underprivileged group leaders, such as James Farmer, see the need for drastically new approaches. If unemployment rises or major setbacks in civil rights occur, larger portions of the Other Americans may be ready for a new politics. But to see underprivilege as the core of the thrust in that direction is shortsighted.

A new style of politics can grow only out of a social base of affluent people, educated to the realities of the scientific revolution, who can afford the luxury of transcending the limited vision of personal gain and protection of status. The hope of a new politics must lie in the possibility that an economy of abundance will create new human potentialities.

Nostalgic yearnings notwithstanding, the spread of affluence has been accompanied by a marked increase in almost every index of genuine ethical consciousness—concern for the survival and opportunity of the individual, concern for civil rights, willingness to aid education and cultural development, concern for rehabilitative treatment of the criminal and the deranged, special assistance for the handicapped, aid to foreign peoples, support for internationalism, recently concern even about the despoiling of cities and defacing of nature under the cloak of free enterprise. Those shocked by the slowness of reform forget that situations now being challenged widely—discrimination, for example—did not even pose a question in the minds of most people a generation ago. The difficulty lies in the inadequate absorption into politics of this growing ethical consciousness.

The elaborate checks and balances and the reliance upon nonpolitical, market-place mechanisms for handling social change are evidence that the American system has traditionally been based upon the tenet that power corrupts, not upon faith in a people's collective ability to govern itself. The basic philosophical assumption of a new politics is that growing affluence produces growing ethical responsibility, and that we shall be able to trust ourselves to guide our social destiny.

The real question is how to interest the affluent in politics. Though the well-to-do and the educated have a far higher rate of membership in voluntary associations than their less fortunate brothers, they are no better represented than others in that pitifully small minority (scarcely more than 2 per cent) that belongs to any kind of political association. We need to understand why politics is so unattractive, and we must start by asking what the average citizen can get out of political activity as presently organized. The answer is "not much." On the one hand, politics in its present form is often inane, hypocritical and frustrating. On the other hand, effective participation in the political process is limited for most people to election campaigns, and this bars them from the persisting, personal satisfaction needed to maintain involvement in any responsible activity.

Political activity at present contains inherent contradictions, and inanity and hypocrisy are their symptoms. Specifically, there are three unequally matched, mobile elements in the political process. One consists of the political parties ostensibly made up of individuals, especially those involved directly in office seeking and serving who, though bearing a party label, are supposed to represent the whole people of their constituency. The second element is made up of various special interest groups (with their lobbies) and the less organized groupings of people with "problems" (racial, unemployment, old age, etc.) who tend to vote as a bloc. The third element, relatively new, is the very-large-scale organization; it is perhaps best exemplified by the Department of Defense, but is an inevitable by-product of modern science and technology in almost every area with which politics must be concerned. The first of these three factors in the political process—the traditional party that operates with the individual as the unit of power—finds itself increasingly and hopelessly at a disadvantage relative to the other two power units. Indeed, as C. Wright Mills pointed out, the politics of interest groups is also pretty much at a stalemate. Technological efficiency and the demands of the times have pushed most crucial decision making to the level of the large-scale organization—economic, military and bureaucratic. The efficiency of the large organization, augmented by computerization, has so overwhelmed weak party-centered political institutions that the politician's only defense today is to use his feeble veto power by going on strike against making any decisions at all. That is precisely what Congress has been doing.

Note that the complexity of modern technology is not really the problem. For example, the preposterousness of the military budget can readily be deduced by simple logical analysis of the Defense Department's own statements. But the political institution, by nature internally competitive, does not provide the elected official with a secure base from which to challenge the giant organization. As a result, politicians, striving to retain a semblance of status, generate diatribes about nonexistent ideological differences between the major parties, devote their main efforts to publicity-getting investigations or attacks on dodo birds, and reduce themselves and their issues to commodities to be sold in the mass media market place more by their packaging than by their contents. Small wonder that educated people find it hard to take contemporary politics seriously.

It may be, of course, that a democratic politics cannot survive. We may have to accept Nathan Glazer's vision of the future:

> *At the top there will be the analysts and researchers and programmers and computers and the huge machines into which many kinds of data now guarded in the files of separate organizations will constantly be fed and out of which will flow guides and aids to action. . . . As for the clients of the programs . . . they will be so far from the determining centers of allocation . . . that we must assume they will simply enjoy the better, more rationally ordered life that this will create for them. They will follow the directions . . . and believe with perfect faith . . . that they will be taken care of.*

One could rant about Orwellian horrors. However, it is more sensible to realize that political decisions today are almost never based upon anticipation of developing situations; they are coerced by impersonal forces long after they should have been made voluntarily on the



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basis of intellectual foresight. In the headlong rush of the technological revolution, these coerced, *ex post facto* decisions will increasingly be too late. But surrendering decision-making power to computerized organizations is scarcely the answer. The challenge is to fashion a politics that can take advantage of contemporary organizational and technological forms in the interest of humane values. Computerized organizations will increasingly handle instrumental decisions; the directing values should remain in the political sphere.

There are two avenues by which we might approach a remodeling of our political organization. One is through some major institutional innovation, like introducing the parliamentary system, which could be argued to have certain advantages in the present circumstances. But it is wholly impractical to think of any such radical modification of the American constitutional structure.

The second approach is to remodel political organization through changes in party structure and in the articulation of party with governmental decision making. Such innovations are at least conceivable in the near future: a climate for change in party organization is brewing. But the change must be in structure and values, not merely in alignments. To attract more educated, affluent people to sustained participation, a new politics must (1) reidentify political activity as a type of action that is gratifying for its own sake (in the sense that work and religion are thought of as inherently satisfying), and (2) embody a program for the basic problems of permanent affluence as well as for such transitional problems as peace, unemployment and racial discrimination.

A political party is what sociologists call a "voluntary association." The American people have always shown a remarkable ability to work together in such associations, and it appears that they gain much personal satisfaction from taking part in them. However, the full value of voluntary associations has certainly not been exploited. Studies indicate that 50 per cent of Americans belong to no voluntary association (other than a church), and that, despite the great proliferation of organizations, no more than 25 per cent belong to more than one. And, as we have noted, political associations are among the least popular.

*Hogarth: Canvassing for Votes*

Is it possible to organize a party —and perhaps portions of the governmental process—in such a way that the virtues and attractions of voluntary association will motivate large numbers of educated citizens to responsible and continuing political participation? There is reason to believe that some of the traditionally satisfying associations are gradually losing their power to attract. Unions are clearly in decline as automation advances, and at any rate have lost most of their associational functions. Lodges and fraternal orders make less and less appeal to college graduates. The popularity of church organizations apparently reached a peak in the 1950s and will decline as the nation swings away from conservatism. Civic clubs are now the most popular form of association among the college educated, but the patent hypocrisy and absurdity of many of them—notably the so-called service clubs—make them ready candidates for replacement. It is a good time, and high time, for the political party to reshape itself in such a way as to become a major form of voluntary association in American life.

One must recognize, however, that local political associations would have to meet social as well as political ends. Party organizations would need permanent meeting halls, much as does a union or church. They would have to maintain a program of activities to insure the *esprit de corps* and morale of the members. But what of the political aspects? For I am not proposing a mere extension of ward headquarters or the monthly business-and-beer meetings of existing political clubs. A party made up of significant locals would have to involve members intensively, and over a wide range of activities.

One way whereby the political association could operate on a continuing basis would be as the research unit of the party. Only a small portion of the knowledge needed for sound social decisions is available from either the theoretical social sciences or the applied social scientists in government or other institutions. Much of what is lacking is not highly abstract but simply descriptive knowledge — often just a continual sampling of a developing social situation. A political party in the new style would constantly draw upon research conducted by its political associations at the local and regional levels. Implementation of policies would be assessed by continual feedbacks from the political associations' research on the changes effected by government policies. Competent research must be guided by objective social and natural scientists, but within such work there is place for the educated citizen.

The research function would co-



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incide well with what I think must emerge as a basic value of a new politics. In our changing world that politics will almost of necessity promote experimentalism in patterns of living. There would be a serious loss if the scientific age completely submerged the drive to achievement and individuality. Liberals are too prone to concern themselves only with security and the necessity for national planning. Conservatives defend a precious element in society when they show concern for achievement and individuality. However, present society is too intricately interdependent to afford irresponsible individualism. Experimentalism in designs for living is a philosophy that combines planning with the verve for adventure and novelty. Experimentalism asserts that there is no one "good society," no ultimate "good life." Rather, men gain conscious control over their destiny when they engage—usually collectively—in a series of planned experiments which test various modes of community organization, economic organization, occupational arrangements, degrees of individual autonomy, and individual career patterns to see what kinds of personalities, satisfactions and dissatisfactions, consensus and social creativity emerge in each experiment. Available knowledge would be utilized, but there would remain important areas of unpredictability and creativity in every ongoing social experiment. There would be room, thus, for human enterprise.

The extent to which modern technology makes the various parts of society interdependent is often commented upon. Not noted is that the same technology could permit more leeway for experimentation and greater tolerance for error. Before long, a fraction of the total economy will be able to guarantee a minimum but decent standard of living for everyone [see "Abundance: Threat or Promise?" by Robert Theobald, *The Nation*, May 11, 1963]. The rest of the economy will be available for experimentation, so that varying economic and social arrangements can be tried out in different regions or communities. Sweden has shown that it is not necessary to have a single kind of economy throughout a nation. It would be important that a number of regions and communities, even neighborhoods and voluntary associations, try different experiments at the same time.

Moreover, with a floor of economic security beneath him, the individual would not need to commit himself to a single life career. Prolonged periods of leisure and education could alternate throughout life with work periods, thus breaking up the present rigid biographical sequence of infancy, education, work, and enforced leisure through retirement. As the labor force became increasingly engaged in service and cultural activities, values other than economic efficiency could be applied as criteria for individual and social success.

But an experimental approach on this scale requires continual research to assess the progress and weaknesses of the new ventures—whether the experiment be a new kind of community or new ways of organizing work hours, setting levels of political administration, undertaking community rehabilitation of delinquents, or creating islands of extreme individualism with minimum formal controls. A continuing function of politics would be to study and evaluate all such experiments, but local political associations would also initiate new ideas and thus prevent the smothering of the principle of experimentation by bureaucracy.

If a new politics is to compete with the large-scale organization of other institutions, the local political associations must affiliate in a broader unit. But they should not become the appendage of individual politicians. To insure persisting member participation, the political associations would have to raise issues and make decisions on a continuing and responsible basis. The key here is to make elected representatives more dependent upon political associations. And in turn political associations would be expected to provide the support necessary to an elected official if he is to make decisions with less of an eye to the next election and to meet the power of the large-scale organization on approximately equal terms.

Two approaches could be used to make the politician more dependent upon the party. The first would take advantage of the permanent, large-organization character of the political party to assure career continuity for candidates — winners, losers, or those who might be "retired" by the party. Administrative positions, research assignments and the like within the structure of the political associations could be correlated with elected political positions in such a way that a professional politician understood that his advancement would not, as at present, be simply from one rung to another up the governmental hierarchy, but would alternate between elected (and appointive) posts and positions within the political associations. Only by offering career continuity can we hope to develop a true profession of politics.

The second approach to changing the relation of candidate and party would be to revise the financing of politics. As long as candidates must invest major portions of their own money in their campaigns, or solicit funds from interested groups, politics must be reduced to a game of winning, no matter what the cost in integrity. Candidates today are selected as much for their bankrolls, or their ability to attract bankrolls, as for their stand on issues. Converting politics from pork barrel to social planning, and from individualism to party orientation, requires that candidates be forbidden to invest in their own campaigns and that contributions from special-interest sources be barred.

Since we must assume that a new politics would be started by a relatively small part of the electorate, how can the requisite millions of dollars be raised? If a 1 per cent cross-section of American families could be committed to a 1 per cent pledge, the annual financial base would be $40 million. Moreover, the type of persons initially attracted to a new style of politics would be apt to have above-average incomes, so that even 200,000 pledges might produce $20 million. It is reasonable to believe that at least 200,000 Americans could be found to initiate a party that offered a broad political program and the promise of restoring honesty and purpose to politics. One per cent of annual income is not a great commitment: it is less than half what the majority of taxpayers will save by the recent income-tax cut.

Changes in tactics are as crucial for a new politics as changes of organization. If its goal is to enable society to benefit fully from the potentialities of the scientific revolution, a new politics must be led by men and women who understand the scientific revolution. A new politics must also supplement tradi-



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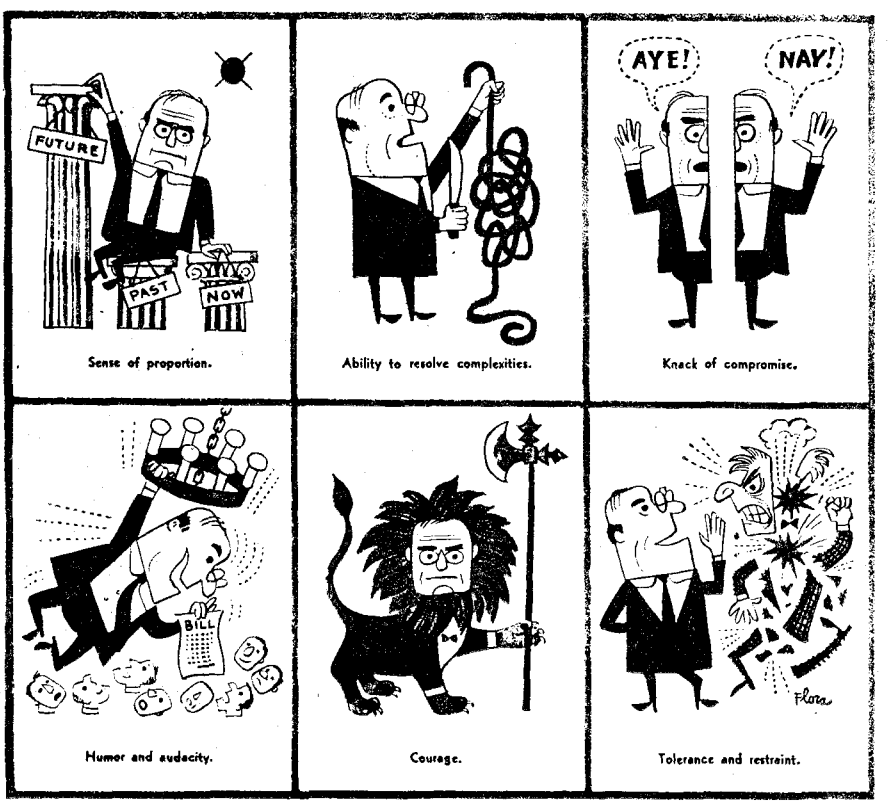
tional campaign appeals with a program to make politically explicit the latent ethical consciousness of affluent people. And new techniques will be needed for local political associations. Despite the overwhelming volume of mass communication, research shows that personal contact continues to be crucially important in influencing opinion. It must continue, but geared to a level of influence that goes deeper than inventing issues or selling candidates. No combination of liberals oriented to the scientific age would today be more than a small minority. The problem is not one of mobilizing an existing body of opinion, but of making explicit a potentiality that is slowly developing in large segments of the American public. The willingness to consider new premises about human possibilities is growing; new political tactics can make these premises manifest.

What are the prospects for a new politics? The drives to privatism and political apathy in this country are very strong, and no great political change is apt to be made until there is a serious crisis. President Kennedy symbolized an intense demand that the people concern themselves with the political and international issues of the time, and an important reason for the immense public support given President Johnson is that his Administration epitomizes government by representatives and the smooth, competent political operator. The assassination was, for many, a release from political involvement, a flight back to privatism and once-every-four-years concern with politics. But though Johnson may well be more successful than was Kennedy in coordinating the liberal and Southern wings of the Democratic Party—and hence getting through Congress some of the pallid bills that pass for social progress in our society—it is almost inconceivable that a Johnson-led party will bring about any of the fundamental changes in Congress or politics-as-usual which must be made if the political structure is to meet the demands of massive technological and social changes.

Eventually, however, the crisis will come—a sharp increase in unemployment, the eruption of the civil rights struggle into a violent form, the adoption of fascism by the chronically unemployed and culturally disadvantaged, a nuclear war that is stopped short of all-out holocaust. We cannot predict the time or the form, but no political system can be as much out of touch with technological, economic and social reality as is the American without in time producing a major crisis.

No doubt leadership for a new politics must come from the twentieth-century liberals, most of whom now call themselves Democrats. But the core of a new politics for the scientific age must lie with educated, affluent people regardless of present party affiliation. The future lies with those who appeal to the educated: whereas in the 1930s only 15 per cent of high school students went on to college, today 37 per cent go on, and by 1975 the figure will probably pass 50 per cent. In addition, there are other sizable categories of people whose needs are unfulfilled by current politics. In the long run, only a new style of politics can appeal seriously to recently registered Negro voters and liberal young whites in the South who seek a platform that will finally bury the Civil War and regenerate the South. Educated women with no meaningful role in contemporary society, elderly people stripped of their identity by social as well as occupational retirement, communities threatened by capricious shifts in defense spending, young people tired of privatism as a response to the hyprocrisy and insensitivity of contemporary public life—all these could be appealed to by a new politics based upon a fresh kind of political association.

The politics envisioned here implies a greater consensus and continuity in political policy than is now publicly professed. The long-range planning required in a scientifically complicated mass society cannot be accomplished in a political system that pretends there is no consensus among the major parties. There will surely continue to be sufficient differences in values and wants to insure healthy political disagreement, but we can no longer afford arguments as to whether we shall live in the nineteenth century or the twentieth century. The tradition in the American system is that the energy and control of social change lie in the impersonal, competitive market place of the economy. A new politics will understand that a large part of that stimulation and direction must, under conditions of the scientific revolution, come from the political sphere.




James Flora: N.Y. Times

*Attributes of a Successful Politician*



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# Call for Intellectual Subversion

*ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN.* By Herbert Marcuse. Beacon Press. 260 pp. $6.

André Gorz

Is there still any meaning to history? Or did everything go so wrong that there is nothing we may look forward to—nothing but an ever-increasing mutilation of man, an increasing rigidity and falseness of thought, a growing probability that civilization will be destroyed by the "totally administered societies" and totally dehumanized efficiency to which man has abdicated his freedom?

Though it is never expressed in exactly these terms, this is one of the questions that will grip the readers of Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man.* It is a question that the anthropologist, for one, will recognize as legitimate. History has derailed before; civilizations have succumbed before to the limitations—which they were unable to control—of their technical patterns. Some of these societies, highly efficient up to a certain point, were doomed to reach a dead end. But the demise which threatens industrial civilization is of a different order. This civilization can be saved from self-destruction only if man masters the tremendous power he has acquired over nature and himself. The vital question which Herbert Marcuse raises is whether advanced industrial society does not produce men who are essentially unable to assert their own cause over the technological rationality of mass production and consumption.

Marcuse's stirring account of contemporary totalitarianism, whether American or Russian, is rooted in historical as well as personal experience. The author of *Eros and Civilization* belongs to a generation of German Marxists who discovered all at once, as adolescents, Freud, Marx, surrealism and the Russian revolution. The world's ferment in the twenties seemed to justify all hopes. They saw it as their task to unite and to mobilize for the liberation of man doctrines between which history, ignorance, dogmatism and prejudice had erected impervious Chinese walls.

Within ten years, all their hopes were shattered and they themselves driven into exile or death. The general crisis of capitalism gave birth not to a liberating revolution but to Fascist barbary. The masses of Europe's industrially most advanced nation welcomed the most oppressive society of modern times, whereas the liberating potentialities of the Russian revolution were stifled by Stalinist administration. Dogmatism, indoctrination and enslavement prevailed over the search for freedom.

This experience has broken almost all intellectuals of Marcuse's generation. He overcame the shock to carry on his fight, but he knew by then that for an indefinite period of time, truth can be defeated and untruth prevail. There is no guarantee whatsoever—neither a transcendental one, as religious people believe, nor a historical one, as Marxists thought—that man or reason will ultimately prevail. Everything may go wrong again, or even may have gone wrong already. But why?

One of the cornerstones of Marx's philosophy was that the growing contradictions between capitalist institutions and the possibilities created by the development of productive forces would make the established system unbearable — unbearably irrational. Marx considered the capitalist system as a rational process of developing productive capacities and of increasing scarce resources. But he also considered it incapable of reconciling the laboring classes with their condition and of outgrowing its inbuilt limitations.

These limitations pertained essentially to the finalities of capitalist growth: under capitalism, profit-making and accumulation are ends in themselves. They do not promote liberation and the development of human faculties; on the contrary, they impoverish and degrade man, subordinating human needs and exigencies to the logic of profit-making—of production for the sake of production.

Marx thought that mature capitalism would inevitably use productive capacities in an increasingly irrational and wasteful way: "The production of waste," as he once wrote, "will be the condition for the production of necessities." The contradiction between potential wealth on the one hand, and human impoverishment and alienation on the other, would be seized upon by the proletariat—if and when it became conscious of the processes at work—as an intolerable negation. The need for qualitative change would become a matter of life and death.

Marx's prediction came true with regard to the growing irrationality of capitalism which, as Galbraith writes, "provides what we need least at the expense of what we need most." It wastes resources and labor while at the same time perpetuating poverty, unemployment and ugliness.

But the consciousness of the need for a qualitative change that Marx anticipated did not materialize.

In *One-Dimensional man,* Marcuse makes a penetrating attempt to find out why. To begin with, he states:

> *The union of growing productivity and growing destruction; the brinkmanship of annihilation; the surrender of thought, hope and fear to the powers that be; the preservation of misery in the face of unprecedented wealth constitute the most impartial indictment of this society. . . . Its productivity is destructive of the free development of human needs and faculties; its peace is maintained by the constant threat of war; its growth dependent on the repression of the real possibilities for pacifying the struggle for existence. . . . The fact that the vast majority accepts, and is made to accept, this society, does not render it less irrational and less reprehensible.*

It is worth while to stop at this last statement. In the name of what does Marcuse reject that which seems to be generally accepted? In the name of true needs as opposed to false ones. Who is he, then, to know what people truly need if they don't know themselves? The answer is quite clear: he is a philosopher, i.e., a person who has acquired the power to express that which the manipulated, mystified and oppressed individual can only sense:

"In the last analysis, the question of what are true and false needs must be answered by the individuals themselves, but only in the last analysis:

*Andre Gorz is a French writer-philosopher working with Jean-Paul Sartre's monthly* Les Temps Modernes. *He is the author of* The Traitor *(Simon & Schuster, 1959).*



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that is, if and when they are free to give their own answer. As long as they are . . . indoctrinated and manipulated (down to their very instincts), their answer will not be their own."

What formidable force has repressed true human needs to the extent that the alienated individual is no longer conscious of his alienation, that his awareness of prevailing contradictions is obscured and his "false consciousness immune against its falsehood"? It is, replies Marcuse, advanced industrial technology whose logic of domination pervades all manifestations of human life and human relations, stifling consciousness which is the fundamental prerequisite of progress towards liberation, reducing man to an instrument of his technical apparatus. This theme, which runs through *One-Dimensional Man*, deserves discussion from various angles.

Marcuse is absolutely right when he emphasizes that "technology has developed on the basis of oppression," and that therefore "liberation can never be the result of technical progress per se. It involves a political reversal." Indeed, industrialization was, and still is, a particular way of subordinating man to the necessities of life and of organizing his social function. It had to be oppressive, since it was undertaken in the face of scarcity as a more or less organized effort to produce abundance by investing huge amounts of human labor. The first consequence of accumulation thus had to be increased poverty and "unfreedom" for the laborer.

The productive apparatus—whether considered as such (under Socialist planning), or as fixed capital demanding profits (under capitalism)—was an end in itself for all practical purposes. Man—whether capitalist, manager or laborer—was its servant. The accumulation of productive capacity could proceed only if supported by an ethic of austerity, puritanism and will-for-power. It required hard men (whether capitalist or Stalinist) to whom man was an instrument, life expendable, wealth not to be consumed.

But the enslavement and repression which accompanied industrialization's birth have been perpetuated despite material abundance. This is, Marcuse says, because "the instruments of productivity and progress, organized into a totalitarian system, determine not only the actual but also the possible utilizations": they have been used with ever-growing efficiency to manipulate and to dominate, to repress the need for liberation when liberation becomes possible.

Technology's slaves have been persuaded that they are free and happy. "Unfreedom is perpetuated in the form of many liberties." A subtle and discreet terror, the flattening of thought, language, behavior and work into positive and unambiguous patterns, have deprived individuals of their faculty to revolt and to promote qualitative change. "They are compelled by the 'circumstances' to identify their mind with the mental process, their self with the roles and functions which they are to perform in society." Specific modes of domination, organization and manipulation mold people into one-dimensional patterns and induce them to sanctify all that is, as it is.

Although Marcuse's descriptions are of striking and often ferocious truth, he is not quite convincing when he attributes to "technological rationality" the subordination of man to the productive apparatus in both Socialist and highly developed capitalist countries. The substantial difference between the two, in my opinion, is that this subordination remains necessary in Socialist countries because of still unconquered scarcity. In highly developed capitalist countries, on the other hand, subjection of the individual to the productive apparatus is deliberately perpetuated though it is no longer necessary. The distinguishing feature of advanced capitalism is that it subjects the individual to the imperative of accumulation—of profit—and denies him the possibility to subject production to his true needs, even though productive overcapacities already exist. Social controls "exact the overwhelming need for the production and consumption of waste; the need of stupefying work where it is no longer needed; the need for modes of relaxation which soothe and prolong this stupefaction; the need for maintaining such deceptive liberties as free competition at administered prices, a free press which censors itself, free choice . . . among a wide variety of goods and services that sustain social controls over a life of toil and fear."

Since the only technological civilizations which systematically perpetuate unfreedom when it is no longer

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necessary are capitalist, why then attribute totalitarian domination to the technological rationality per se, rather than to technology as used under monopoly or state capitalism?

In short, I wonder whether Marcuse does not exaggerate the effects of technology on ideology, civilization and politics. Is it legitimate to consider technology as an independent variable? Won't societies that are deeply marked by pre-technological ideologies (by a large peasantry, a strong Catholic Church, a powerful Marxist movement) resist the all-pervading influence of technology: its cult of efficiency and production for the sake of efficiency and production, as seen in the German and American societies? Won't they pursue more effectively the fight for technology's subordination to human ends?

I should be inclined to think that countries like Italy, France or even Russia, countries with an old tradition of class consciousness, class struggle and prophetic humanism, might develop an industrial society different from the American (or German or Swedish) one. It seems to me that this possibility exists despite certain objections which could be raised; among them, that the special cultural patterns of those countries will not block the "Americanization" of Europe, but will instead be swept away by the Common Market in the drive to attain American industrial efficiency, organization and magnitude.

And I also wonder whether certain features of American capitalism, which Marcuse attributes to the technological civilization, are not actually rooted to a large extent in American history: in the colonial or "frontier" tradition; in the sublimation of class consciousness and structure; in the absence of a peasantry; in the relative newness and mobility of a population that has not developed local or regional cultures (with the exception of the South, where class conflicts are obscured by race conflicts); in the quest for national identity. Some of these features, it may be noted, are common to the U.S. and to Germany, where class structure has also been blurred by chauvinism and where a concern for technical performance has been promoted as a substitute for national culture.

Furthermore, it seems possible that Marcuse exaggerates the effectiveness and depth of repression in technological societies. To what extent is the false consciousness really "immune against its falsehood"? To what extent has the need for liberation really been suffocated by an affluence "that makes servitude palatable"? I could cite many Italian and French labor offensives that are aimed precisely against subjection to the productive apparatus, irrespective of its "delivering the goods." They are European examples, of course. But in the United States too, it may not be completely utopian to assert that the happy robot is a superimposed façade behind which the unhappy individual gropes more or less helplessly for a way out.

I would, therefore, not be so sure of what Marcuse calls the critical theory's "inability to demonstrate the liberating forces *within* the established society." The consumer's lack of receptiveness to "the critical theory" may be due, not only to indoctrination, but also to the inability of most critics to reflect the need for liberation as it exists, however obscured, in the factories and offices.

Marcuse's purpose, however, is not to take people in their daily life and work and help them become conscious of their repressed needs, of the contradictions between what they are and what they are made to believe they are. Marcuse seeks to demystify, to demonstrate the mutilation which technological rationality inflicts on men's apprehension of reality and of themselves.

It is in these chapters, dealing with the degeneration of philosophy and of art as a commodity, that Marcuse shows himself to be one of the most radical and forceful thinkers of this time. His short cuts through the history of philosophy and art are achievements of permanent value. He renews, in a more concrete and dramatic way, the inspiration of Edmund Husserl, who pondered in the 1930s on the meaning and fate of philosophy as threatened by science. He suggests that if history went wrong up to now; if man has not gained sufficient consciousness to use science to liberate himself, to abolish violence and exploitation, to subvert the existing order with a view to qualitatively different ends; if man has been unable to reconcile science and the arts the fault may lie with science itself and not with its social *applications*:

"Science, *by virtue of its own methods* and concepts, has projected and promoted a universe in which the domination of nature has remained linked to the domination of man—a link which tends to be fatal to this universe as a whole. . . . The scientific method which led to the ever more effective domination of nature thus came to provide the pure concepts as well as the instrumentalities for the ever more effective domination of man by man *through* the domination of nature."

The scientific-technical rationality is fundamentally vitiated by the historic conditions of its birth and development. "The quantification of nature, which led to its explication in terms of mathematical structures, separated reality from all the inherent ends and consequently separated the true from the good, science from ethics. . . . The world tends to become the stuff of total administration, which absorbs even the administrators."

Pretending to eliminate man as the subject and the end of its operations, science has eliminated all that negates, transcends and qualifies that which is. In a flattened universe, deprived of human ends (of the dimension of that which *is not* and *should be*), it has left flattened individuals. Sociology, philosophy, psychology have been reduced to a "descriptive analysis of facts that blocks the apprehension of facts and becomes an element of the ideology that sustains the facts. . . . Nothing remains of ideology but the recognition of that which is. . . ."

With devastating examples of how human engineering, linguistic analysis and empirical sociology defend the established order (with its nuclear competition, unemployment, want and waste), Marcuse makes us feel the debacle of intellectual creativeness. Thought has to be efficient and practical; its truth is measured by its effectiveness in helping to win and to retain power. The intellectual's role is to advise government in the art of domination and corporations in the art of increasing profits. Man has become a means to an end for an anti-human universe functioning through his subjection to it. Let's love the bomb. Civilization tends toward barbarism.

Against this involution, Marcuse reasserts that the historical task of philosophy is "the intellectual subversion of the given facts. It frees thought from its enslavement by the established universe of discourse and behavior." Philosophy must "free the scientific project for trans-utilitarian ends and for the 'art of living' beyond the necessities and luxuries of domination"; to make man free for the comprehension of the irrationality of



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a society that suppresses the new potentialities that have evolved within it. . . ." In our totalitarian era the therapeutic task of philosophy would be a political task, not as special political philosophy but as the intent "to comprehend the unmutilated reality."

*Thus economic freedom would mean freedom from the economy—from being controlled by economic forces and relationships; freedom from the daily struggle for existence, from earning a living. Political freedom would mean liberation of the individuals from politics over which they have no control. Similarly, intellectual freedom would mean restoration of individual thought now absorbed by mass communication and indoctrination, abolition of "public opinion" together with its makers. The unrealistic sound of these propositions is indicative not of their utopian character but of the strength of the forces which prevent their realization.*

What can be done to defeat these forces? On his own, the philosopher can't do much, except to arouse consciousness. Even in this endeavor, he cannot succeed until there is a social force that gives material weapons to his intellectual ones; that feels the price of maintaining the established order has become too high in terms of human sufferance, moronization, frustration; that comprehends "the given necessity as unsufferable pain, and as unnecessary."

Is there such a force? "At the beginning of the fascist era, Walter Benjamin wrote: 'It is only for the sake of those without hope that hope is given to us.'"

These are the last lines of *One-Dimensional Man.*

# Voices from the Place of Snakes

*MEN GOD FORGOT.* By Albert Cossery. Translated from the French by Harold Edwards. City Lights Books. 102 pp. $1.50 paper.

Lloyd Zimpel

Our morning newspapers, full of talk about the poor, forget a poverty that cannot be defined by hard-core unemployment statistics or a count of homes without running water, however melancholy those figures may be. This wretched bone-crushing state of utter hopelessness has another dimension. It is absolute poverty; and like various other absolutes, subjection to it can inspire a man with a fiery, saintlike madness.

It is this pathology of total deprivation that Albert Cossery, an Egyptian living in France, brilliantly presents in his little volume reprinted now by City Lights. First brought out eighteen years ago by a private press, *Men God Forgot* was the American reader's introduction to Cossery. The book's striking qualities assured it a continuing underground reputation; but, like Cossery's two translated novels, it has been unavailable for years.

Misery, filth, hunger, cruelty, disease, hatred, terror—the catalogue of human calamity is complete in the five stories that make up *Men God Forgot.* The people bearing the weight of this disaster come from Cairo's most miserable quarter. Nothing has ever gone their way, yet they show a muscle, a spark that stands at such complete odds to the circumstances of their lives that it becomes a kind of madness.

Here Hanafi, the laundryman, greets the postman:

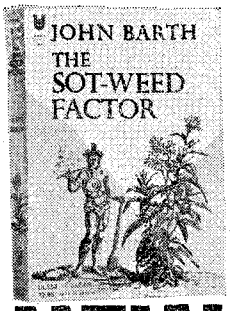
*"What's that, son of a dog? A letter for me? What bastard is amusing himself by writing to me? You can keep your dirty letter or give it to your mother. You are making a fool of me, postman of hell."*

And Adri, the law student, walks his goat beneath the window of the young girl he hopes to impress while the actor, Sayed Karam, observes:

*The fantastic sight of a lover promenading his goat under his beloved's window irritated him not only by its unprecedented absurdity, but precisely because of the originality which he discovered in it. Without openly avowing it, he was jealous of a certain outlook in this student which made him a notable rival in the realm of unique and astonishing ways of life.*

But in fact most of the lost souls in these stories are driven in pursuit of "unprecedented absurdities." In the story, "The Danger of Fantasy," two differing theories of begging come into dramatic confrontation. The question is, should the beggar hold to classic

*Lloyd Zimpel has contributed to the* Chicago Review, The Massachusetts Review, The Carleton Miscellany *and other periodicals.*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tradition and continue to frighten alms from passers-by by exhibiting his filth and disease? Or does this modern age demand that he "intellectualize" his position and through courtesy and cleanliness charm money from any passing benefactor? The classicist, Abou Chawali, director of a school for beggars, seeks out the intellectual, Gad, to reconcile the matter. He catches Gad just as the poor man, in a bout with his chronic diarrhea, races for the public lavatory. Sprinting alongside, Abou Chawali, like men everywhere who are unhappy in conflict, expresses his deep concern for the future.

*"The future," said Gad, "is at the end of this road in that little building you see there."*

*"But that is the public lavatory."*

*"Exactly so, master. The future is in that public lavatory, at least for the moment." He could no longer contain himself. He ran straight ahead, towards the future.*

Many of the scenes in these stories are riddled with this kind of infernal humor. Disease, laziness, the lack and the loss that envelops the Cairo nether world, here give rise to wild comedy, part of which derives from the author's seemingly earnest assertions that his characters are unspeakable wretches unworthy of our attention, whose foul and lying behavior he reports only because he has somehow become onerously obliged to do so. Thus Cossery archly affects the privileged author's distance from his subjects, with effects that are variously wry, slapstick or callous.

A grimmer element of the comedy is apparent in the place names: The Street of the Pregnant Women (where "it was the men who reigned, and they reigned ineluctably"); The Cul-de-sac of the Cripples; Black Lane; The Place of Snakes; The Lane of the Pissing Child. But it is part of Cossery's fierce comedy that these names are literal descriptions, specifying what remains for the natives after the European section of the city, "a glutted monster," has taken over. Now all that is left is a "countryside which went off to vomit its distress at the edges of the poorer quarters. For there where misery lies too thick, the city halted its triumphal march. It took only the good land. All that made life sweet and comfortable belonged to it." In the European city the street lights too are "more numerous and dazzling. That is how civilization makes itself felt, as lights which it scatters around to blind the people."

Cossery's second book, the short novel *The House of Certain Death*, published by New Directions in 1949, reveals this same distrust of "civilization." Here it takes the form of a "vision of imminent catastrophe," the house of certain death, an ancient rooming house in the native quarter.

*The whole main part of the building seemed to be a prey to gravity. It tilted in an obvious and shameless manner, leaving a sinister crack between it and the rest of the house—a crack which covered the length of the wall like an enormous snake.*

The boarders in this perilous dwelling besiege the landlord for repairs, but to no avail. Poverty holds them trapped to the end, while they feebly hope that "some will survive and know how to avenge the others."

But the characters in Cossery's only other novel published in the United States, *The Lazy Ones* (New Directions), have surmounted both imminent catastrophe and blinding lights and learned their own method of survival. An aging gentleman with a monstrous hernia, and his three sons spend all their time in sleep—or in a fantastic comatose state that is indeed something more than sleep, a self-induced hypnosis welcomed for the oblivion it brings. When the youngest son awakens sufficiently to set forth into the world, he gets no farther than the first corner of the road where he falls asleep, "indifferent to the furious labor of men, under the peaceful gaze of the idle stars."

In the two novels — novellas, actually — it is the author's real, observed details that shore up even so seemingly cumbersome a symbol as a cracked rooming house and supply it in the end with a massive mythic quality. This same deft and certain art vitalizes the characters in *Men God Forgot*, and it may be that here the higher accomplishment is revealed. For these ugly, ill-tempered, mean-spirited men have no past from which to appeal the future — the future is a public lavatory — and so they could end up for the reader as nothing more than an author's creation hanging in space. But they are far more than that. When the hashish smoker Mahmoud cries out in his sleep, "Sons of whores, sons of whores!" we not only glimpse the extent of his despair, but in our sudden shocked discovery that the curse is really addressed to us we also honor the harrowing reach of Cossery's art.

# Mr. Bones, He Lives

*77 DREAM SONGS.* By John Berryman. Farrar, Straus and Co. 84 pp. $3.95.

## Adrienne Rich

John Berryman has made a creepy, scorching book, and something more. Through a device too integral to seem devised, he manages private history without self-photography, public utterance without platform manners. The poems collect about a persona, Henry, sometimes addressed by other voices as Mr. Bones, confiding himself in a dialect half Uncle Tom, half baby talk, coaxing, whimpering, muttering, holding dialogue with friends, with the devil, with pieces of himself. Occasionally Henry vanishes altogether, to reappear, brooding, unquenchable, lisping more or less outrageously as the mood seizes him. Within the flexibility and inventiveness of Berryman's diction—an extension of verbal power beyond the language of his *Homage To Mistress Bradstreet* — almost anything seems possible. From under the cloak of the dreamer the poems take their often surrealistic quality, apparently rambling, recollective; words pun on themselves, Ethan Allen merges into Abelard, scraps of memory and nightmare shoulder for room. But it is the identity of Henry, inseparable from his several tongues, which holds the book together, makes it clearly a real book and not a collection of chance pieces loosely flung under one cover. None of the poems (except possibly the elegies) carries in isolation the weight and perspective that it does in relation to the rest; partly because the cumulative awareness of Henry is built from poem to poem, partly because Berryman's technique makes the demands of any original work and develops for the reader over the full scope of what is essentially a long poem in 77 parts. If, as Berryman has said, these 77 songs are themselves part of a still longer work now in progress, we can only be grateful. [The poems on the opposite page are new, hitherto unpublished ones in the series. Editor.]

Through his personae, Berryman has entered a zone of poetry that is



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# 3 Dream Songs

John Berryman

## General Fatigue

General Fatigue stalked in, & a Major-General,
Captain Fatigue, and at the base of all
pale Corporal Fatigue,
and curious microbes came, came viruses:
and the Court conferred on Henry, and conferred
on Henry
the rare Order of Weak.

— How come dims *one* these wholesome elsers oh?
Old polymaths, old trackers, far from home,
say how thro' auburn hair titbits of youth's grey climb.
I have heard of rose-cheekt but the rose is here!
I bell: when pops her phiz in a good crow.
My beauty is off duty! —

Henry relives a lady, how down vain,
spruce in her succinct parts, spruce everywhere.
They fed like muscles and lunched
after, between, before. He tracks her, hunched
(propped on red table elbows) at her telephone
white rear bare in the air.

## Henry's Pencils

I figure with this grey upon this yellow
pencil on paper in my super-pad,
nurses flying to & fro,
he could a new it dredge forth like a billow
forsaking them diseases Henry had
and pull the nurses down 0.

I figure on these yellow with my blue —
why ever did one pass the Second Grade
to shoal up mis'able,
forlorn typewriting — I can make it too,
wining his colleagues where he will not fade.
I figure it over; I mull.

I haunt my fate of yellow with sweet green:
let me not yet have mustered all in vain,
but suffer war (I wish)
yellow the breaking sky: he attack, lean
& mean, with crazed laughs intervalling pain,
and do you know what? he flourish.

## Donnybrook

Henry of Donnybrook bred like a pig,
bred when he was brittle, bred when big,
how he's sweating to support them.
Which birthday of the brighter darker man,
the Goya of the Globe & Blackfriars, whom —
our full earth smiled on him

squeezing his old heart with a daughter loose
(hostages they are) — the world's produced,
so far, alarms, alarms.
Dig the fatigue & cold four hundred years
award a warm one. All we know is ears.
My slab lifts up its arms

in a solicitude complete, too late.
Of brutal revelry open your mouth to state:
Front back & backside go bare!
Cats' blackness, booze, blows, grunts, grand groans.
Yobad yom i-oowaled bo v'ha'l-lail awmer h're gawber!
— Now, now, poor Bones. .



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very close to the dramatic, while remaining savagely and precisely lyrical. He is in a position to use—and does—any conceivable tone of voice and manner to needle, wheedle, singe, disarm and scarify the reader. The inflections are endless, and this dense, brilliantly managed variety is nowhere more compactly and dazzlingly organized than in the final poem. Here the dialect of blackface Henry, with its half sly, half bitter self-deprecations, merges into a kind of Berryman middle-style after the abrupt "Come away, *Mr Bones,*" and moves on into a language belonging to the same poetic nerve centers as the beginning of "Hyperion" and the late long poems of Williams—in other words, a diction which a few poets earn a few times in their lives.

Berryman earns it by generating verbal heat, consistently, from within. His technical daring works in a totally different way from the sophistications of the accomplished demi-poet, without for a moment surrendering or pretending to surrender sophistication. He is a bruised, raging and fiendishly intelligent man and he has found a way of being all three simultaneously. The private and public hells which he dismantles are not, for our time or its poetry, new; and one may object that Ike and the Chairman of the English Department could have been denied the honor of Berryman's remorseless attention. But what is important, because always uncommon, is, first of all, the presence through the book of an effective unifying identity, and second, the power of that identity to define its surroundings so accurately.

*There sat down, once, a thing on Henry's heart*
*so heavy, if he had a hundred years*
*& more, & weeping, sleepless, in all them time*
*Henry could not make good.*
*Starts again always in Henry's ears*
*the little cough somewhere, an odour, a chime. . . .*

*But never did Henry, as he thought he did,*
*end anyone and hacks her body up*
*and hide the pieces, where they may be found.*
*He knows: he went over everyone, & nobody's missing.*
*Often he reckons, in the dawn, them up.*
*Nobody is ever missing.* (29)

*Here, whence*
*all have departed or will do, here airless, where*
*that witchy ball*
*wanted, fought toward, dreamed of, all a green living*
*drops limply into one's hands*
*without pleasure or interest*

*Figurez-vous, a time swarms when the word*
*'happy' sheds its whole meaning, like to come and*
*like for memory too*
*That morning arrived for Henry as well a great cheque. . .* (19)

*— Hear matters hard to manage at de best*
*Mr Bones. Tween what we see, what be,*
*is blinds. Them blinds' on fire.* (64)

*A tiger by a torrent in rain, wind,*
*narrows fiend's eyes for grief*
*in an old ink-on-silk,*
*reminding me of Delphi, and,*
*friend Quo, once was safe*
*imagination as sweet milk.* (32)

Again and again poems occur to remind us that to have been somewhere bad is not enough, even to have been there watchfully. Gertrude Stein once observed that "there is the sensitiveness of the hysteric which has all the appearance of creation, but actual creation has an individual force which is an entirely different thing." In Berryman one is conscious, as in few other poets, of a steely thread of strength running through the dislocation and the ruin. One believes him when he says, late in the book and after disastrous scenes:

*Something remarkable about this*
*unshedding bulky bole-proud blue-green moist*

*thing made by savage and thoughtful*
*surviving Henry*
*began to strike the passers from despair. . .*

We tend to speak diffidently these days of the moral quality of poetry, as if we were still in danger of confusing virtue with cant, or poetry itself with sentimental reassurances. Yet I find myself thinking as I read Berryman that his book owes much of its beauty and flare to a kind of unfakable courage, which spills out in comedy as well as in rage, in thrusts of tenderness as well as defiance.

I said earlier that this is an original work. There is an anxiety about imitativeness, peculiar to our time, a longing to break the mold as it seems so decisively to have been broken over and over again earlier in this century, which results in obsession with technique or in mannerism, and often, as Walter Jackson Bate has pointed out, ends in imitation simply of one's immediate contemporaries. But a truly original work, in the sense in which Berryman has made one, is superior in inner necessity and by the force of a unique human character. "To strike the passers from despair" — an arrogant claim, and perhaps these days only a poet, with his curious strain of arrogance and his dour awareness of speaking, at best, "to critics famed *and Henry's pals or other/tellers at* all/chiefly in another country," could make it. But the claim has been earned by the time it is made, not through reassuring consolations but through the existence of such a body of poems. Long ago, Berryman wrote of an early loss: "Nouns, verbs, do not exist for what I feel." Now they do, and he has created them.

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*Adrienne Rich's latest book of poems,* Snapshots of a Daughter-in-Law, *was published last year by Harper.*

# Ermanno Olmi: The New Italian Films

**Gideon Bachmann**

A modern city, modern buildings, modern traffic jams, modern smog, modern people—industrialists, intellectuals, publishers, engineers—and a modern way of life; fast, productive, impersonal. It could be any American city, but this is postwar Milan, Italy's typical example of "il boom."

It has things never found in Italy before: toll roads, row upon row of identical low-income houses, a concentric belt of gas stations, motels, used-car lots and an active, restless suicide-prone intelligentsia who have made the world's traditional opera center into one of Europe's most exciting breeding grounds for experimental theatre. poetry, literature and films.

Nowhere else in Italy do people keep appointments on time; Ermanno Olmi appears on the dot of three. I am first struck by the youth, self-effacement and unprepossessing appearance (freckles, with curly hair; a blonde redhead) of the man whose film company, La 22 Dicembre, last year produced the first six feature films to come out of Milan, sent all of them

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*Gideon Bachmann is a critic, journalist, photographer and broadcaster for WBAI in the film field. His book about Federico Fellini, which he taped with the director, will be published next year by Simon & Schuster.*



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to festivals and saw most of them win prizes.

Olmi is best known in the United States for his own two films: *The Sound of Trumpets* (originally *Il Posto*) and *The Fiancés* (*I Fidanzati* in its original Italian). These are the only feature films he has made. His previous training consisted of directing a long series of documentaries which culminated in the hour-long *Il Tempo Si E Fermato* ("Time Stopped Here"), which was shot during an entire winter in the Italian Alps at a snowed-under dam work site. It told the story of the two lonely watchmen who passed the winter up there, cut off from the rest of the world and wholly dependent upon each other for company and human contact.

It is one of those rare documentaries in the Flaherty tradition which expose, through intimate attention to detail and through evident compassion, the depth of the human spirit; the force of man, his inner strength when put to the test. It won Olmi attention from the Italian film world and smoothed his path toward setting up production for his feature films. Today, after only three major works and at the age of only 32, Olmi must be considered one of the rare, original talents of the Italian cinema. Yet Olmi is nothing if not a product of the industrial society in which he grew up.

For three years Italy has seen a renaissance in its film industry. I am not referring to the wave of spectaculars from the now-defunct "Hollywood-on-the-Tiber." That momentary prosperity, which began with the American success (thanks to Joe Levine) of the *Hercules* vehicles, and which for some years sustained an entire colony of mediocre film makers and actors in Rome, has finally begun to decline. Even Italian audiences have tired of the serial exploits of Samson, Attila, et al. Another genre, which began with *Mondo Cane* and has since produced at least twenty similar "documentaries" purporting to expose some monstrosity or sexual extravagance, is also declining. In short, it has been proved fatal to try and imitate accidental successes.

The senselessness of that one-way street is amply demonstrated by the deep economic crisis of the cinema in Italy today, which has caused the bankruptcy of at least one major producer and a score of small ones, and the cessation of bank credits to cinematic projects on the part of the Banco di Lavoro, once the financial spine of Italy's sprawling film industry. The banks are the most sensitive seismographs of the entertainment industry, and many a film maker has recently waked up to the sudden realization that he no longer had a free hand in deciding anything, not even the story line of his films. Among those hit by the crisis was Antonioni, who had begun work on a film, *Il Deserto Rosso* ("The Red Desert") in the fall of 1962 and had to postpone shooting for more than a year because he could not find credit. Fellini, who has been preparing *Giulietta Degli Spiriti* since May of 1963, at the time of writing still has made no production contact.

In speaking of a renaissance, then, I do not mean the big-scale films nor those which come out of the established industry as such, but the work of Olmi and his colleagues: Lina Wertmuller, Eriprando Visconti, Alberto Caldana, Damiano Damiani and Gianfranco de Boso—names little known to Americans as yet. Their films were all produced by Olmi's Milanese company. In their realism, their concern with problems of today's Italy, and their advanced technique they correspond to films made elsewhere in the country by a host of new directors such as de Seta (*Bandits of Orgosolo;* see *The Nation,* April 27), and Germi (*Divorce Italian Style*).

Together these men represent a new type of Italian cinema. They are influenced by several international currents, but stand apart from all of them. One can see in their technique, especially, derivation from the *nouvelle vague* in France, and from *cinema verité,* the "truth film" brought to fame recently by French film makers Jean Rouch, Mario Ruspoli and Chris Marker, using hidden cameras, fast film, mobile units and natural sound to convey to the viewer a sense of immediacy. Also noticeable is the influence of U.S. feature film maker Morris Engel as well as documentary makers Richard Leacock, Don Alan Pennebaker and the Maysels brothers, who use the same kind of technique for the same reason as *cinema verité* (they were doing it earlier for television), but stick closer to straight documentary. The work of these Americans, as well as some examples of the "New American Cinema" (*The Nation,* May 11) have been widely seen and debated at European film festivals. In addition to such influences, the emergence of the new

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Italian films is also due in an important degree to the greater readiness of a TV-oriented audience to accept the less slick, more "real-looking" image on a screen.

But more significant than technique is subject matter and the film makers' approach to it. Their work is always contemporary. In most cases they present situations with which the respective film maker is personally familiar. And most of these film makers have chosen film making primarily as a way to express a viewpoint. Italian film director Alberto Lattuada said to me recently: "The real villains of Italian society are not the few, poor, misled souls whom Fellini raises to the level of national heroes in *La Dolce Vita*, and our real danger is not the Via Veneto with its 'corrupt' cocaine-imbibing starlets and exhibitionists. The real villains are the heads of our industry who mete out a meaningless existence to millions, and the real danger lies in the death of the spirit which our new industrial society causes." These are the concerns of the new Italian cinema and of Olmi's work in particular.

For a country whose most strident national characteristic is insincerity—"cute" dishonesty, growing out of a constitutional weakness for make-believe—these films are truly extraordinary. They hide nothing, give no easy solutions, deal with taboos and atavisms of all kinds (including sexual and religious ones). Gone is the sentimentality of *neo-realism*, gone the big-bosomed joviality of De Sica, and gone the decorative decadence of Visconti. These films demand attention, thought and involvement.

The interview with Olmi began with his comments on these new film makers:

*Olmi:* The friends who make our new cinema come from everywhere and have different kinds of backgrounds. Many studied film making at Rome's Centro Sperimentale. [Founded by Mussolini in 1935 as an adjunct to the centralized film industry, and long since become the stronghold of Italy's film intelligentsia; a film school of notable discipline, from whose ranks have come almost 50 per cent of Italy's film makers, film writers and critics; it has also published, since its inception, one of the world's most respected theoretical film journals, *Bianco E Nero*.] Many started with short films, often rather meaningless documentaries and commercials, but it trained their eyes. I myself come from the working class, which means that at the age of 15 I had to stop going to school and get a job. This sort of fixed my destiny, or anyway it would have fixed my destiny if I hadn't been interested in films and the theatre so that I kept trying to express myself in those ways. I finally succeeded in getting the company I worked for to allow me to make some documentary films for them. The usual industrials, but actually all of the films I have made retain something you might call an "industrial essence." Whatever I try to say in my films derives from and belongs to that world, the world I have personally known: modern industry and the civilization it creates.

I feel we are living in a particularly historic moment, a moment of internal clarification for all of mankind. We have left behind a rural culture (even if it's not entirely dead in Italy, it has been pretty much abandoned), and we are going toward a new civilization which we don't yet understand. We live in an atmosphere of uneasiness, of worried expectation and only through accidental openings do we see a glimmer of our new, future lives. The discomfort we feel is caused by the fact that we are not yet capable of mastering the reality we now confront of balancing our spirit with our physical environment.

Our new films express this. We are using the medium to explore our problems, sort of trying to check them out with the viewers, to clarify our own positions while compelling audiences to clarify their own positions a little. I don't think it helps us solve our problems, but it makes us part of a larger—even if problematic—society. It's a two-way process, this kind of film making, not just entertainment where the director uses film to affect people's emotions. We engage ourselves completely in the making of our films and we want the viewer to feel it.

*Aren't you rather optimistic? I mean, don't you give your audiences credit for a willingness to become involved which is beyond what we normally expect from them?*

It's a question of development. I don't mean to say that world audiences are ready to enter into a real exchange with the artist—they have been spoiled for too long by superficial emotionalism. But I think the negative reactions one gets from "normal" audiences when they see a more engaged film derive from the fact that they feel they have been cheated: they came to be entertained. But I am convinced that things are changing. The questions that surround us are everywhere. All of mankind, in one way or another, is seeking answers. And in our films, slowly, people will come to recognize their own voids, if not their own answers. I believe that people are beginning to accept—I don't want to say "the message," but certainly the stimuli provided by the engaged film maker.

*Do you believe that the film maker has the right to put himself on this "higher" level? And couldn't it make his films didactic?*

It is a great responsibility. It becomes a presumption when you also give solutions. I try to avoid that; I just try to pose the questions with an objectivity which is, of course, conditioned by my own viewpoint. Then it's up to every one of us to find *individual* solutions. Solutions cannot be collective (and therefore they cannot be provided "from above") because they don't affect us if they are not unique, born within each one of us. The difference between the solutions each individual finds may not be very large, it's a matter of shadings, perhaps, but it's those shadings which make us into individuals.

The artist should share with others his sensibility but not his views. He can be a mediator between the problems of life and mankind. His sensitivities help him serve as mankind's emotional vanguard. He is an individual who uses his time, more than other people, to look around. His eyes are always open, his antennae always poised. In fact, one of the great problems of our time is the fact that so many people are no longer capable of this openness. Man has become largely opaque, almost deaf. There are so many *details* in modern life that take one's attention away from the real meaning of things. But perhaps it's just because of this deafness that men today feel—mostly without being aware of it—the emptiness that surrounds them, the lack of contact with others. In this very age of the perfection of the mass media, I think man has developed an immunity to communication. The artist takes time to stipulate the problems, to clarify the most urgent needs, so that perhaps a few others, who are not artists, will stop running as well.

*You're even more optimistic than I thought. Do you really expect audiences to pay to see a rather negative view of themselves? Aren't you worried about being able to continue working?*



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I expected that question. I think the whole system of film production and distribution is changing. A new system is emerging, something like book publishing. There isn't just one kind of book, but innumerable kinds, for a great variety of moods and a great variety of readers. Don't forget that the film is still very young. And the maturing process takes place not only on the creative side, but also on the marketing side. Films are and will be made more and more for the discriminating spectator, but there will be, as in publishing, different films for different moods and for different spectators.

*But films are much more expensive to make. To pay its way, each category of films would need the audience of a bestseller.*

Films are beginning to cost less. And they are no longer being made for limited audiences. We can no longer think in terms of a national, or even continental, cinema. There is one market for films today: the world market. It's true that films cost more to make than books, but they also have a more direct, inherent fascination. Still, we must lower our production costs even further. Today's crisis is not a creative crisis, but a systematic one.

*Have you thought of any specific solutions?*

Well, I live in Milan, which is really the backwater of film production. We are sort of provincials here. But I think that's rather advantageous when you want to start fresh. There is only one production firm in Milan, formed by us with the help of some capital provided by industry and private sources. We are continually studying ways to make meaningful films cheaply. Each of the six films we made last year cost exactly half of what they would have cost had they been made in the "normal" film industry.

*Was that because they were all contemporary stories taken from life, and so you didn't have to build sets, for example?*

The fact that our material is contemporary life doesn't always lower costs. There is a law in Italy which imposes the utilization of minimal crews, so in each film, even "realistic" ones, a certain percentage of a film has to be shot in a studio. And often it costs more to shoot on location than in a studio because of all the trouble in clearing locations and setting up equipment.

I don't know why our films cost less. Maybe it's just that our expenses are more controlled, our time more fully exploited, our procedure better organized. Milan is an efficient city. I've never worked in Rome, though.

*Since you don't choose realistic subjects in order to lower costs, I suppose you do it to express the new Italian way of life?*

I can speak only about Milan. Maybe because Milan is so up to date, so industrialized, so organized, so intense, that people here are more aware of the lack of spiritual feelings. If Milan were a more pleasing place, or if it were situated in a more pleasing climate, we might not work so hard or be so concerned. An agreeable life can suffocate you. But I feel that because of its character Milan is a *true* city, work is *true* here, the relationship to work is sincere. And work is cruel, so there is no possibility of lying about it. It's not like sitting and talking at a café table. You know, Milan is probably Italy's most advanced city, and perhaps — unfortunately — it is also most advanced in its sense of disconnection and individual emptiness. Our audiences are considered the most sensitive in Italy; all in all, I don't think it's surprising that new forms are being born here in all the arts.

*Do you feel that Milan is a vanguard for all of Italy?*

There are new and vital forces at work everywhere in Italy today. Many of the old taboos and traditions are breaking down. We have a new spirit, a new youth. There are good and bad directions, good and bad expressions of the new freedoms. But this happens whenever a civilization undergoes a major change. Our new industrial civilization is just beginning to stand on its feet. Our new films, here in Milan, are only symptoms, very small symptoms, of new directions—directions which we cannot understand completely, towards aims we cannot foresee. The important thing, I believe, is that we are in the middle of change.

# ART

## THE NIAGARA SHOW

The Albright-Knox Art Gallery of Buffalo, designed by the architect Bernshaft and finished only 2 years ago, is by far the most attractive of the small American museums. It sits in an open lakeside park, a low building in a light and graceful version of the Greco-Roman, faced with rows of columns and fronted by a semi-circular peristyle. It is extended on one side by a modern-style wing that houses the theatre and the twentieth century collection for which the gallery is particularly famous. The occasion for my visit was an exhibit, "Three Centuries of Niagara Falls" — 172 oils, water colors, drawings and prints — which opened May 3 (with a balloon ascension and band music for street dancing), and is to continue through the summer.

Despite the exhibition's title, most of the work is from the nineteenth century. From the eighteenth there are a few engravings — imaginary views done after travelers' tales; two charming and naive water colors by Thomas Davis, a resident British army officer; a highly romanticized etching attributed to Henry Fuseli, the English mannerist, with meditating Indian and, in the distance, both the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains. The one important eighteenth-century work — a large and stormy oil, loosely painted but surprisingly resembling, is by the early Romantic Englishman, Richard Wilson. The twentieth century again is sparsely illustrated — a Sargent water color, an Eilshemius, a de Martelly and an Adolph Dehn. The bulk of the show is by nineteenth-century Americans, delightful, unsigned work along with all the best-known Hudson River names.

There are Vanderlyns; a beautiful John Trumbell of the Falls, some ladies visiting and a painter sketching; a painted fire screen by Edward Hicks (whose "Peaceable Kingdom" the gallery also owns) — the Falls with column of spray, the foreground animated by Hicks's characteristic animals, the whole framed in capitalized rhymed couplets:

*Above, below, where'er the astonished eye*
*Turns to behold, new opening wonders lie. . . .*

and so on to its Johnsonian conclusion; three George Catlins — one an unexpected bird's eye view of the Falls, rapids and adjoining fields in minute detail, and another, a view into the corridor behind the rushing wall of water. There is an autumnal



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Cropsey; a Samuel Morse; two Bierstadts; a large and expert picture of the scene by Frederick Church, with dramatic lighting and oncoming storm; two engaging Rembrandt Peales; a view by A. M. Walker, better known as a painter of the cotton-picking South; a Kensett; two Innises and two fine Impressionist Twachtmans.

Among the posters and prints are depictions of the famous Blondin on his tight rope; a piano composition celebrating a similar exploit by one Henry Lester, Esq. ("The Lester Polka"); and a large lithograph put out by Hill Brothers, Wholesalers in Fine Millinery, with the Falls in winter as background for the latest in 1894 fashions.

As one can see, it is a lively show. How much at home with this celebrated view were the nineteenth-century painters! We, alas, are not. The subject of our century has always been the characteristic, the subjective, or the tawdry, never the grandiose. Who would now think of painting the Grand Canyon or the Matterhorn? Cézanne himself never attempted anything more ambitious than the Mont Ste. Victoire, a near-at-hand and quite provincial ridge.

Entertaining as all this is, the gallery's permanent collection is of another order of interest. The works from before the nineteenth century are not many, but selected with taste and beautifully displayed — a fifteenth-century French polychrome statue of St. Gorgon, for example, life size, in comfortable square-toed shoes and carrying a bird; a wonderful Hogarth, one of the best in America — "The Lady's Last Stake" — her playing cards burning in the grate, her suitor offering her a hat full of money; a busy Pannini of a village fete beside a church; and a sinister "Miss Evans" by Gainsborough. The older Americans are sparsely but well represented — two fine portraits by Ralph Earl; a croquet scene by Homer; the well-known "Elinor, Jean and Anna" by Bellows, and fine examples from Eakins, Glackins, Ryder, Harnett, and so on.

The gallery's great specialty is in contemporary Americans and in the school of Paris, and here it is surpassed in completeness and excellence by few American museums. Illustrating the school of Paris are all the first-rate names, and what is more, in first-rate examples — frequently such celebrated ones as Soutine's red "Page Boy at Maxim's" and Seurat's early version of "Le Chahut," along with rarities like a bronze head by the young Picasso, and a portrait by Monticelli. The museum owns one of the best known of the early Miros; a fat man's head with glaring eyes by Rouault; a Lautrec and a Lipchitz; fine Cézannes and Daumiers; Matisses of good periods; Rousseau, Braque, Derain and Picasso, represented all by excellent pictures.

As for the contemporary Americans, they are present in alphabetical profusion — Albers, Avery, Davis, Francis, Gottlieb, Guston and the suite, supported by Bacon, Cuborg, Soulages, Tapies and other celebrated names from the foreign contingent, all in brilliant, numerous and well-chosen examples. Particularly numerous are the Clyfford Stills (though on closer examination, several I had first thought his bear other names) — imposing, large, richly textured canvases with imprecisely edged, almost flat, areas of striking colors. The severe aesthetic of these works with their strict allegiance to decorative unmeaning, begins now to seem a little empty, almost as conventional as the weak curves, tertiary colors, and pre-Raphaelite faces so highly esteemed in the decorative arts of the nineties: particularly when set beside the more entertaining violences and conscientious absurdities of the Pop art here on view.

However willfully shocking and perverse these Pop art works may be, they are none the less both lively and diverting. There is a large and ominous George Segal — a white plaster figure in overalls, apparently cast from life, reaching up to change the letters on a movie marquee and violently lighted from behind. Wesselman's bathroom cabinet has a real plumbing fixture, a neon light, a shelf for toilet articles which include an empty over-economy size tube of toothpaste, an appliqué cut-out still life of Coca-Cola bottles and, to make it more modern, a pasted-on color print of a Mondrian. Liveliest of all is the Marisol — blocked-out wooden figures of the two great liberators, Washington and Bolívar, mounted together on a wooden horse, the back side of whose cylindrical body opens like a door to show a phonograph all set up to play an appropriate military march.

All this is a great deal more diverting than, for example, Joseph Albers' celebrated squares; but, I suspect, not so solid an investment. The subject matter of an Albers is severely neutral. In fact, it has no communicable subject. Pop art, on the other hand, is basically satirical, a form of social comment. It is difficult to imagine that work on such a compromising and disquieting subject could ever attain the solid status symbol value that abstract painting enjoys today. But one never can be sure.

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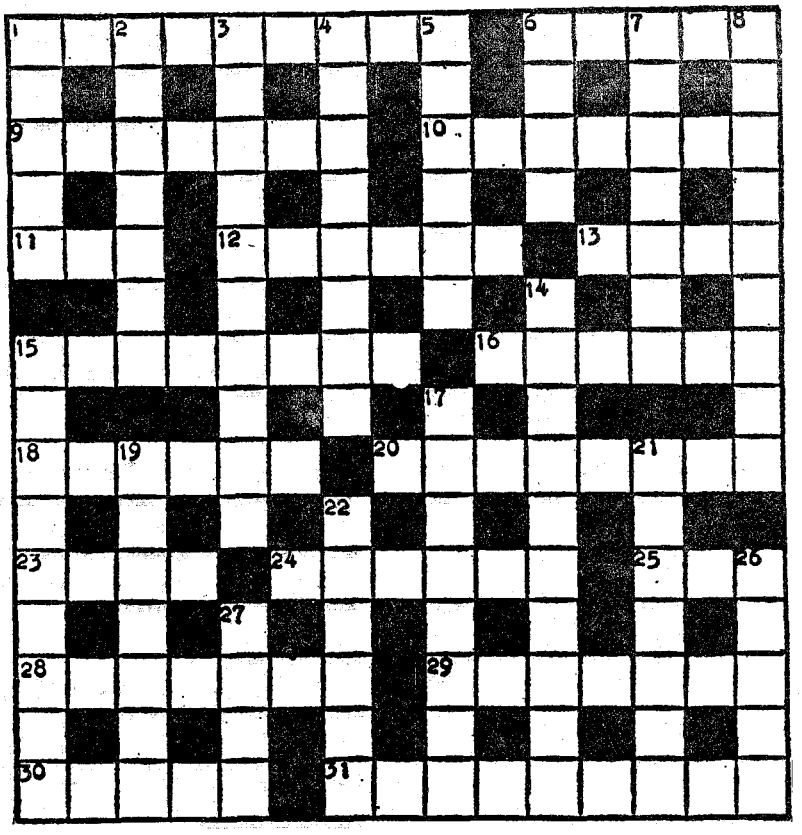
**By FRANK W. LEWIS**



ACROSS:

1 and 17 down Room for trade, possibly? (7, 2, 8)
6 See 29 across
9 and 13 Give an order to, and then carefully put away most of the army. (4, 3, 4)
10 Not a flattering way to get to cut CIA's organization. (7)
11 Heads a solid part of the country, where only a little cash is needed.
12 How the convalescent might be getting along with what a Runyon character got more than once. (6)
15 One might not expect to go to the well during such hours. (8)
16 Forces things such as old comic-strip rolling pins? (6)
18 Reputedly dislikes nothing good in jolly people. (6)
20 Bundles of lettuce from Old Russia? (8)
23 Evidently the philosopher has one final letter returned. (4)
24 and 22 down What publishers sometimes do to attract attention might protect an important part of the battery. (4-2, 6)
28 A remark is barely distorted and set aside for a specific purpose.
29 and 6 across It might be a sign of accomodating people to put a person in the back door with broad possibilities. (4, 3, 5)
30 One's tongue is like a violet. (5)
31 The reforestation doesn't have any standing in life, as a result. (9)

DOWN:

1 and 25 Grain family—sometimes associated with a smoky quality in early life. (4, 4)
2 The subjects of commercials—or just adjectives in substantival use?
3 Born smart, I find inspiration in it. (5, 5)
4 People usually don't eat so much when they are. (8)
5 In angelic affairs, it's easy to get it back. (6)
6 If this match had a head, you'd find it nearby. (4)
7 Mounted, perhaps, in "The Last Ride Together." (7)
8 Doesn't mean "depresses", though lessons sound it. (9)
14 11, with one not so sharp, gets to sharpen the instrument. (10)
15 Here one might expect to find an auto with a not-quite-full case. (9)
19 Crusader who takes an eccentric dancer to tea, by the sound of it. (7)
21 and 27 down City, just in 1933-34 (7, 4)
26 Anchor, or pull along by one. (5)
27 See 21 down

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1059**

ACROSS: 1 Rebuttal; 5 and 10 French leave; 11 Vanguards; 12 Statues; 13 Trachea; 14 and 15 Mother Hubbard; 18 Methods; 21 Basset; 24 Laprobe; 26 Roaster; 27 Cantonese; 29 Typist; 30 Florists. DOWN: 1 Relish; 2 and 3 Beat about the bush; 4 Advisor; 6 Rhubarb; 7 North; 8 Husbands; 9 Snatch; 16 Apertures; 17 Implicit; 19 Odorous; 20 Seeded; 21 Bar bell; 22 Swagger; 23 Crisis; 25 and 28 Pin-up girls.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